
Conceptualisations of citizenship in Sweden and the United Kingdom.

**An empirical study and analysis of how 'citizenship' is understood
in policy and by policy-makers.**

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Declaration

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I declare that, except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is entirely my own work, and that no part of it has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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Abstract

This empirical study identifies and analyses what conceptualisations of citizenship emerge in policy thinking around naturalisation and how these conceptualisations have been articulated in citizenship policy and by policy-makers in the two specific cases of the United Kingdom and Sweden. Understanding citizenship as a bounded membership status the research is grounded in a view of citizenship as having content: rights and duties, ideas of identity, perceived virtues or political values. Employing an interpretive methodology the study closely analyses the central policy documents from the period 1994-2007. It also extensively draws on material from over thirty in-depth elite interviews with policy-makers. These include David Blunkett and Ulrica Messing, the ministers responsible during the development of the key changes to citizenship legislation in the respective countries.

In the Swedish case the thesis argues that five conceptualisations form the ideational context in which policy articulations of citizenship take place. Interplaying ideas of integration, equality and belonging are reinforced by conceptualisations of citizenship as about a ‘welcoming’ symbolism and as ‘responding to a global, internationalising context’. In the UK case five conceptualisations also emerge. A strong interlocking of thinking about integration and belonging provides citizenship policy’s ideational foundation. Adding depth and complexity to this are ideas about diversity, ‘common values’, and the presentation of citizenship acquisition as a ‘journey’.

The final section of the study analyses and compares the findings from the two specific cases. In considering the policy tone around naturalisation it contrasts the attention given to individual effort in the UK with the accentuation of entitlement in Sweden. It also highlights different conceptual approaches to belonging and its relationship with citizenship; with belonging strongly connected to identity in the UK but to the idea of emotional certainty and security in Sweden. This is argued to reflect distinct beliefs about where evolving ideas about citizenship create demands for change. In Sweden, legislative opening to dual citizenship was conceptualised as a necessary response expected of the state. In the UK, the introduction of citizenship

tests was conceptualised as the establishment of a legitimate demand on individuals. Approaches in the two cases are also shown to differ in where emphasis lies in ideas about diversity's relationship with citizenship. The UK downplays notions of ethnicity while the Swedish conceptualisation accepts pluralism as the reality of contemporary globalisation.

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Section I: Introductory Foundations

Chapter 1. Introduction

Conceiving Citizenship

The sixth of June 2005 saw Sweden celebrate its national day as a public holiday for the first time. Beyond the speeches, folk dancing and general confusion about how to mark the day the principal organised activities, repeated at numerous sites across the country, were the ‘citizenship ceremonies’ organised to ‘welcome and celebrate’ newly naturalised Swedish citizens. The Prime Minister Göran Persson talked of globalisation bringing people together and resulting in ‘our country being enriched by a tremendous diversity of cultures: this is what leads to Sweden’s success’. One of those participating in the Stockholm ceremony, originally from Africa, ebulliently declared that ‘everything is right today; it’s the national day, I’m finally a Swedish citizen and a Swede can look like this!’¹ (Svenska Dagbladet 2005:8, Dagens Nyheter 2005:11).

A month later Tony Blair, then prime minister of the United Kingdom, released a statement reacting to the bomb attacks in central London:

‘When they seek to change our country, our way of life by these methods, we will not be changed. When they try to divide our people or weaken our resolve, we will not be divided and our resolve will hold firm. We will show by our spirit and dignity, and by our quiet but true strength that there is in the British people, that our values will long outlast theirs.’

(UK Directgov 7 July 2005)

In the following days newspaper headlines proclaimed ‘The Brit Bombers’, as it became clear that three of the four suicide bombers were British. Tony Blair’s ‘they’ had been brought-up and socialised in the UK, were UK citizens and held

¹ ‘Vårt land berikas med en enorm mångfald av kulturer och det gör Sverige mer framgångsrikt; ’Allt stämmer i dag: det är nationaldag, jag blir äntligen svensk medborgare och en svensk kan se ut så här.’ Unless stated otherwise I am responsible for the translations from Swedish used in this document.

UK passports. The BBC quoted the uncle of one of the bombers: ‘he was proud to be British’ he said (BBC online 2005).

Both these stories, one celebratory and one tragic, exemplify the way *ideas* of citizenship are intertwined with thinking about integration and identity and the way in which these concepts are evolving in response to increasing migration and growing diversity. A symbolic crux in the meeting of these ideas is the process through which individuals not born to citizenship become citizens; the process of naturalisation. In policy as elsewhere thinking about citizenship is framed by and interplays with understandings of other complex concepts and ideas. This thesis empirically identifies and analyses **what conceptualisations of citizenship emerge in policy thinking around naturalisation and how these conceptualisations have been articulated in citizenship policy and by policy-makers in Sweden and the United Kingdom.**

Citizenship, Policy, Conceptualisations

Citizenship has attracted substantial political and academic attention in recent years. In a recent text Kivisto and Faist cite former Brazilian President Cardoso’s assertion that we are experiencing ‘an age of citizenship’ (Kivisto & Faist 2007:1). Legislative changes have been adopted in numerous countries (Bauböck et al. 2006, Vink and de Groot 2009) and a substantial body of scholarly work dedicated to the subject has developed. Citizenship is commonly viewed as being about membership status in a political community, normally a national state (Faist et al. 2004, Faist 2007(a), Joppke 2007, Morjé Howard 2006). Nevertheless, within the social sciences, citizenship is also understood as a contested concept and the literature has wrestled with attempting to define, or at least delimit the concept’s meaning (Faulks 2000, Heater 1999 & 2004). Often this discussion takes place in relation to other contested concepts, perhaps most prominently national identity, and recognition of a conceptual interplay and interconnection is widespread (Brown 2000, Cesarani & Fulbrook 1996, Fernández 2005, Habermas 1994, Koopmans et al. 2005, Miller 2000). Integration, its meaning in increasingly pluralist societies and its association with citizenship, is also a topic that has

attracted significant attention over a considerable period (Favell 1998 & 2001, Glazer 1997, Hammar 1985).

Increasing academic examination of citizenship has taken place alongside an ‘escalation of political debates on nationality policies since the 1990s’ (Bauböck, Perchinig & Sievers 2007:12). This has been true of both the cases examined in this thesis. Following a period of debate and changes to integration policy, Sweden introduced legislation allowing dual citizenship in 2001 (Gustafson 2005, Spång 2007). The United Kingdom already permitted dual citizenship and the major changes have surrounded a sharpening of policy around the process of naturalisation. Legislative changes introduced citizenship ceremonies in 2004; and in 2005 tests were introduced as part of the naturalisation process. These aim at measuring both English-language ability and societal knowledge. Since its introduction this testing regime in the UK has been expanded.

It is in this context of academic debate and policy evolution that this thesis has examined *conceptualisations* of citizenship as they appear in the understandings of policy-makers and in key policy documents. Conceptualisations are understood as ideas, notions and articulations, as ideational frames or structures that display the substance of thinking about particular subjects or concepts, in this case, citizenship. Conceptualisations of citizenship are also understood to illustrate and manifest the way in which the concept is contextualised by other ideas and perceived in relation to other concepts.

Consequently, what the research presented here deals with is an examination of what takes place, in an ideational sense, in thinking about citizenship in the front-line of policy. The core puzzle could be described as not just *what ‘citizenship’ means?* but also the study of *how ‘citizenship’ means?*² The impetus and motivation for this work was the engagement of an interest in discovering how ideas about citizenship and its meaning were being expressed by policy-makers as

² This formulation owes its semantically - yet elegantly - twisted phrasing to Yanow’s (1996) book title ‘How does a policy mean?’.

policy and thinking on citizenship and naturalisation developed rapidly.³ The PhD work began in 2005 in response to curiosity about the changes taking place and the periods studied cover 1994-2007 in the Swedish case study and 1997-2007 in the United Kingdom case study.⁴ The work is strongly empirically driven and assesses conceptualisations of citizenship in policy documents and particularly through interviews with policy-makers. During the periods studied major legislative reforms to naturalisation procedures took place in both case countries and the periods cover the lead-in period to the reforms and the bedding-in phase following their implementation. As stated, the cornerstones were Sweden's sanctioning of dual citizenship from 2001 and the UK's introduction of naturalisation tests in 2005. Other important processes were also ongoing in both countries as the idea of citizenship and how it might be used in policy grew more salient. In addition to the expansion of ceremonies for naturalising citizens these included the development of more determined efforts to embed citizenship and naturalisation policy in thinking about integration; and a substantial amount of contemplation and self-examination around the themes of societal diversity and belonging.

The Research Problem

Accordingly, the research questions which are addressed here are as follows:

- (1) In the context of changes to naturalisation procedures and processes how is 'citizenship' conceptualised in citizenship policy and by policy-makers in the specific cases of the United Kingdom and Sweden?
- (2) Within each case how do conceptualisations operate and interplay with one another? What is the conceptual context that citizenship policy responds to?
- (3) What can be learnt through comparative reflection on the findings from the two specific cases?

³ The delineation of 'policy-related texts' and 'policy-makers' is discussed in Chapter 3. That discussion defines 'policy-makers' as those 'involved in drafting, being consulted upon or overseeing the implementation of the policy.'

⁴ The reasons for the choice of these time periods is made clear at the beginning of the empirical discussion for each case; respectively in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6.

These questions respond to and enunciate the rationale that underpins the research work and as such, they interplay with and support one another. Changes around naturalisation are viewed as having placed citizenship ‘in play’ as a policy concept. In addressing the first question the empirical analysis section of the thesis considers the developments that have occurred and identifies the key thematic areas and conceptualisations of citizenship that emerge through analysis of central policy documents and interviews with policy-makers. Concurrently, and in line with the second question, the thesis also works to understand the ideational contextualisation of the conceptualisations. That is, whether and how distinct conceptualisations interplay with one another and if this takes place in either a supportive or counteractive manner. Knowledge and analysis of the cases also offers the chance of comparative reflection and the final section of the thesis considers how the findings are sharpened by laying the key aspects of each case alongside one another.

Relating to the field: Rationale and Intentions

Interplaying ideas

The principal objective of the research presented here has therefore been to study empirically the way in which citizenship – understood broadly as political membership of the state – relates to thinking about other conceptual ideas in articulations of citizenship policy. The research did not use pre-defined categories but as the work began there were expectations that these ‘other conceptual ideas’ were likely to connect to broad themes such as (national) identity, integration and diversity. Thus, the research began with the basic working premise that understandings of these concepts will impact upon the way in which citizenship policy is formulated and expressed.

A further supposition that has underpinned the work is that understandings of citizenship’s interplay with, for example, identity and integration evolve in response to the context in which they are being expressed. Identified in the most general terms this context can be referred to as globalisation. Put simply, globalisation provides a shorthand term for reference to a myriad of different

processes which together create a powerful trend towards greater interconnectedness. Political and economic developments such as the expansion of intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) and the proliferation of international agreements and conventions are part of the process. So too are social and cultural changes such as increasing migration and travel and cultural intersections from film and literature to food and exercise patterns (cf. Baylis et al. 2008, Beck 2000, Scholte 2005). Western countries have been the recipients of large numbers of immigrants and in recent decades a number of West-European countries have for the first time in modern history become countries of immigration.⁵ Increasingly, greater ethnic and cultural pluralism has implications on many levels for both organising and understanding these societies. In response, the 1990s and 2000s saw an increase in intensity in the way many countries engaged in discussion about the meaning and purpose of citizenship⁶ and a variety of authors have noted that the processes associated with globalisation in creating more diverse societies can be seen as impacting upon the organisation and understanding of citizenship (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer 2000&2001, Geddes 2003, Koopmans et al. 2005, Kymlicka & Norman 2000, Soysal 1994).

States have traditionally attempted to present themselves as ‘nation-states’ in a strongly legitimising characterisation that conflates people and the governing structures of power as unified, a claim that in turn supports the designation ‘democratic’. A further suspicion as this study began was that approaches to identifying ‘the people’ were evolving. Reliance on the sense of a homogenous nation and national identity were gradually being challenged by recognition of increasing pluralism in society and perhaps even promotion of the idea of a multi-ethnic, diverse or multicultural nation or polity (cf. Joppke 2001, Tully 1995).

⁵ ‘Countries of immigration’ is a phrase often used in the literature. It was traditionally used to describe the immigrant receiving states of the new world (particularly the US, Canada and Australia) as distinguished from the countries of emigration found in Europe (cf. Joppke 1999(a) & 1999(b)).

⁶ The states used as cases in this study both commissioned major reports considering these issues in the late 1990s and these are analysed below. At the same time other countries engaged in similar processes; Feldblum provides references for the US, Canada, Australia and France (Feldblum 2000:481).

Reformulation of Citizenship.

During recent years the processes briefly identified here have provided space for a renegotiation of ideas about citizenship and its meaning. As the impacts of globalisation on the state were increasingly identified and studied some writers had even argued that these processes could be interpreted as threatening the relevance or perhaps even the very existence of the nation, state or nation-state (cf. Held & McGrew 2003, Ohmae 1995). The objective however, of this research was to empirically explore the meaning of citizenship based on a less extravagant assumption; that conceptualisations of national citizenship were being redefined and modified and that the links between citizenship and the state, while evolving, were not breaking down. Attention is principally focused on policy related to naturalisation and dual citizenship, aspects of citizenship policy closely related to the membership boundaries of citizenship. Soininen argued that democracies need to respond to the ‘challenge of developing a view of membership that is relevant for multi-ethnic and multicultural societies’ (Soininen 1999:700) and the research presented here aimed to analyse if and how this was taking place in two settings.

Locating the Research

This thesis is about gaining understanding of the meaning of ‘citizenship’ as expressed in UK and Swedish policy and by policy-makers. It analyses and maps the conceptualisations of citizenship that were prevalent during the period of study and assesses their development and contextualisation. Chapter 2 considers the conceptual framework to this work and the issues it deals with and a number of studies have considered the different ways in which citizenship is evolving. Scholars have analysed the link between diversity and citizenship (Benhabib 2004, Joppke & Lukes 1999, Kymlicka 1995, Kymlicka & Norman 2000) or assessed the way in which migration is influencing citizenship (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer 2000, Castles & Miller 2003, Favell 1998, Hansen 2000(b)). Some studies have attempted to focus directly on the relationship between national identity and citizenship (Miller 2000, Oommen 1997), or on the way in which the European Union is affecting citizenship and/or identity in Europe (Fernández 2005, Geddes 2003, Habermas 1994, Kostakopoulou 2008). Others have systematically laid out

the policy changes across a large number of cases (Bauböck et al. 2006), assessed how the norms promoted by international conventions are impacting upon the concept of citizenship (Benhabib 2004, Soysal 1994) or how legal definitions are changing (Dell'Olio 2002).

More specific studies have been done on changes taking place in citizenship policy with regard to dual citizenship or naturalisation (cf. Faist 2007(b), Faist & Kivisto 2007). This has of course also been the case with regard to Sweden (Gustafson 2002, Spång 2007) and the UK (Dummett 2006, Hansen 2000(a), Hansen & Weil 2002, Kostakopoulou 2003). However, as Lister et al. point out, although a substantial amount of theoretical work exists on citizenship there has been much less in the way of detailed empirical study (Lister et al. 2003:235-236). Their own work investigates attitudes towards citizenship amongst the young but a review of the literature reveals limited work in studying the views of policy-makers themselves towards the concept or its portrayal in citizenship policy. In the Swedish case, Gustafson (2002 and 2005) and Spång (2003 and 2007) have come closest to this sort of detailed empirical study in their assessment of the material from public and political debate around the changes to citizenship. In the UK case, Smith and Verma (2008) have focused specifically on policy-makers thinking about dual citizenship and gathered material through interviews based on structured questionnaires, while Kiwan (2008) has used interviews with policy-makers but focused on ideas of citizenship education in secondary schooling.

Thus, this study's use of semi-structured interviews as a way of allowing policy-makers themselves to talk about how *they* conceptualise citizenship accesses an underused resource. Its focus on conceptualisations of citizenship in relation to changes around naturalisation policy and its determination that the identification of themes and conceptualisations will be empirically driven also distinguishes this work. Policy-makers play a crucial role in defining both the framework of discussion and broad understandings of the concept in its relationship with other ideas and the limited work done on analysing their thinking appeared to be a significant omission and one that this work aims to help fill. Rogers Smith argues

that ‘contemporary political science should give high priority to studies of the processes, especially the *political* processes, through which senses of political membership, allegiance, and identity are formed and transformed’ (Smith 2004:42, italics in original). This research does not focus on the structure of policy processes but it is clearly interested in the *substance* of evolving conceptualisations of citizenship that emerge from the political processes of policy formation. Linking conceptual study and empirical work, the research outlined here will attempt then to discern patterns of understanding through analysing policy-related texts and the material produced from interviews with policy-makers and consider how these conceptualisations shape and reflect citizenship policy.⁷

Defining and Delimiting the Work

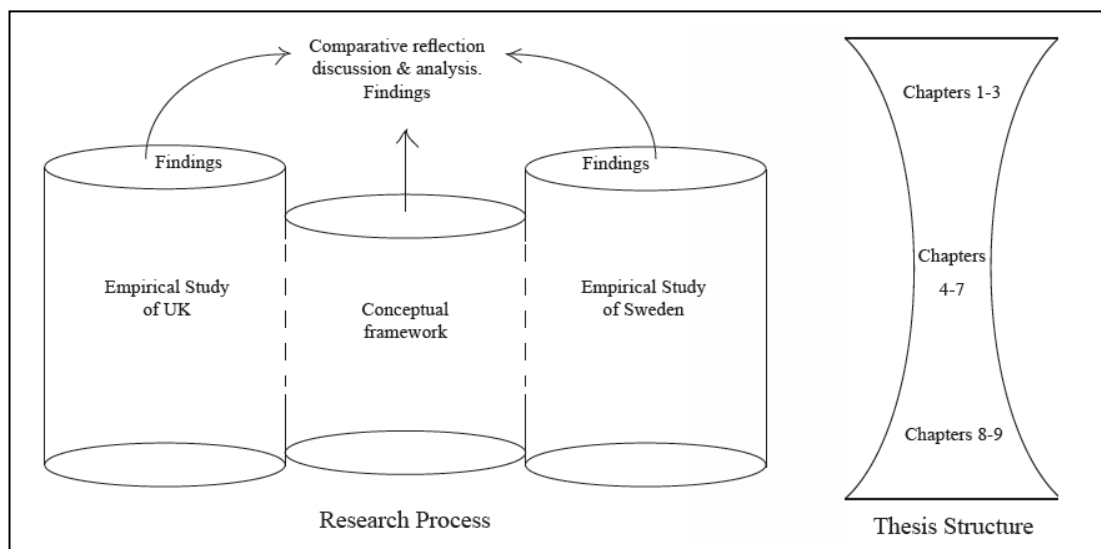
Three further interrelated points are worth emphasising in order to delineate the way in which this research work has been carried out and also to make clear what the thesis does not do. Firstly, the work presented here is empirically and analytically driven. Its objective is not to provide a normative thesis of how modern citizenship policy *should* be shaped or how conceptualisations of, for example, integration, diversity or national identity *should* relate to citizenship (for a recent example of that type of work see Asari, Halikiopoulou & Mock 2008). Rather, the research aims to identify and understand *what* has happened in contemporary policy and *how* citizenship has been conceptualised and used in policy in Sweden and the UK. Secondly, the core of the research is its empirical base, gathered in reference to the two specific case-studies. Conceptual and theoretical work is used to illuminate and illustrate the themes that emerge but the findings are very clearly grounded in study and a deep reading of the empirical material. This thesis utilises and reflects on theoretical ideas but its aim is not to test any particular theoretical perspective or to formulate grand general claims beyond the two cases. Thirdly, it is important to stress that the focus of the research is on conceptualisations of citizenship and the way in which they interplay with conceptual ideas or processes such as national identity and integration *within*

⁷ Much of the literature mentioned briefly here and in previous paragraphs is reviewed more fully in discussing the project’s conceptual framework below.

articulations of citizenship policy. The research was not undertaken to analyse the broader question of how national identity and citizenship interplay generally or the relative importance of citizenship within integration policy.

The approach to the research can be understood as an attempt to gain a ‘dense’ or ‘thick’ understanding of the thinking of policy-makers and the articulations of policy that underpinned the way citizenship was conceptualised. The final section of this introduction explains the purpose of each of the thesis’s chapters and outlines what the study will show. Here it is worth broadly, and very briefly, noting how the work was approached. Chapter 3 describes the methodological approach in detail and Chapter 2 supports the reflective nature of the work through assessment of the central concepts relevant to the research and consideration of the usefulness of a two-dimensional ‘conceptual space’ in illustrating approaches to citizenship. Each case was studied specifically and the core empirical analysis of the cases is laid out in Chapters 4 to 7 before the thesis broadens its perspective again in the closing section, firstly considering what can be learnt from a comparative discussion of the cases and secondly drawing attention to the central findings. In arriving at the thesis’s findings the research process was therefore built on three pillars: the two empirical cases and the conceptual framework. The structure of the thesis can be understood as having the form of an hourglass: the conceptual and methodological foundation of the introductory chapters is followed by much more specific and circumscribed empirically-led chapters which in turn lead to the reflective and comparative analysis that draws the work to a close.

Figure 1. Research Process and Thesis Structure



The Cases: The United Kingdom and Sweden

Before proceeding to overview the chapters and moving forward to the conceptual framework discussion of Chapter 2 it is useful here to provide a brief background to the cases studied, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

These states could be seen as falling within the same broad type; they are both developed West-European democracies.⁸ Both are long-established states and both normally claim to be nation-states.⁹ The two settings are broadly similar in that both states have responded to changing inflows of immigrants, that have been increasing both in number and multiplicity, and to related pressures associated with increasing cultural and ethnic diversity. In both countries official reports have engaged with issues relating to how citizenship is conceptualised and recent legislation has adjusted citizenship policy. However, Sweden and the United Kingdom are responding, of course, from different historical positions and societal and political traditions. The aim of the research was not to assume difference and identify similarities or assume similarity and find difference. Rather, the working assumption in carrying out the work was that *both* similarities and differences would emerge in reflection on the findings of the cases. The role and benefit of studying two cases and the discursive and comparative context it creates is outlined in Chapter 3 where the work's research design is considered. Here the basic details and interest of the British and Swedish cases are outlined.

The United Kingdom

The UK can be identified as a multi-national state and a post-imperial power where citizenship policy for the four decades after the Second World War was focused upon dealing with that imperial legacy (Hansen 2000(b)). During the 1980s and

⁸ Oommen has argued that the relationship between citizenship and national identity and the conceptualisation of these ideas varies not just on a country to country basis but also according to region as a result of 'the trajectory of their developments' (Oommen, 1997:11). Thus he contends that in the 'first world' norms of approaching citizenship and national identity differ between Western Europe, Eastern Europe and the new world, while the 'third world' can be analysed as presenting three highly distinct traditions in Latin America, Africa and Asia (Ibid:27-33).

⁹ Albeit that reference to (and recognition of) the UK as a 'multi-national' state has increased since the devolution of some powers to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland in the late 1990s. See Jeffery, C. & Wincott, D. (2006) for analysis of how this process can be understood in relation to citizenship.

1990s the previous dominance of immigration from the Commonwealth evolved into a focus on the increasing heterogeneity of refugees and economic migrants arriving in the UK (cf. Dell'Olio 2002). The last definitive census, carried out in 2001, showed 8.3% of the UK population to be foreign born of a total population of 58.8 million. This marked an increase from 6.7% in the 1991 census and the most rapid growth since the Second World War. It also showed almost a doubling of the 4.2% figure recorded in 1951.¹⁰ By 2008 the population was estimated to be around 61 million of which 11.1% were estimated to be non-UK born.¹¹ During the period studied the number of individuals granted British citizenship annually in the UK rose substantially. From a figure of under 40,000 in 1997, the number of individuals gaining UK citizenship increased to almost 162,000 in 2005, the year the citizenship test was introduced. The figure then remained around this point, being 165,000 in 2007. Interestingly, the most recent figures available, for 2008, show a year on year 21% drop to 129,000.¹² Of foreign born residents, 43% held UK citizenship in 2004, a figure which stayed constant to 2006 when the UK Home Office's specific statistical bulletin on citizenship statistics stopped reporting take-up rates of citizenship.¹³

These ongoing changes and trends made the UK an attractive case study, not least because recent legislation was still being implemented as the research began. The White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* led to the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act which amended the 1981 British Nationality Act. Amongst other

¹⁰ See National Statistics Online. *People and Migration: Overseas Born*. www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=767

¹¹ See Population Trends 2009 www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_population/PopTrends137web.pdf and Migration Statistics Quarterly Report, November 2009 www.statistics.gov.uk/pdftdir/mig1109.pdf

¹² See Home Office Statistical Bulletins on 'British Citizenship Statistics' www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hosb0805.pdf, www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs08/hosb0508.pdf and www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/hosb0909.pdf

¹³ See Bulletins www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hosb0805.pdf and www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs07/hosb0807.pdf. The figures for 'overseas-born people who had been in the UK for six years or more' were 59% and 60% respectively. The statistical bulletin covering the 2007 figures claims statistical 'deficiency in estimating population sizes' as the reason for the discontinuation of the reporting of naturalisation rates amongst those not born in the UK. However, an estimated 2008 figure, based on estimated population figures (and the 11.1% figure for non-UK born), is given in the most recent Migration Statistics Quarterly Report (URI above) as 41% of all non-UK born residents.

things this: introduced citizenship ceremonies and created a requirement of ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’ for naturalising citizens (UK Parliament 2002). A new bill, amending the 2002 Act, confusingly entitled the ‘Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006’ was also passed during the period studied. It is based on a 2005 White Paper called ‘Controlling our Borders: Making Migration work for Britain’¹⁴ which stated that ‘the government will strongly encourage [in immigrants] a commitment to the UK by accepting the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship’ and went on to talk of promoting ‘shared values’, highlighting ‘individual freedom and tolerance of diversity [as] fundamental to our democracy and society’ (Home Office 2005(a):22-23).

The interest of the British setting was further augmented by the way in which issues of citizenship had come to the forefront of societal debate in the latter part of the 1990s and early years of the 2000s. The ‘Crick report’ laid the ground for the introduction of citizenship education in schools, stimulating in turn discussion about citizenship more generally. The ‘Denham’ and ‘Cantle’ reports, responding to the 2001 disturbances in Northern England discussed the UK’s evolution into an increasingly ethnically and culturally plural society and highlighted ideas about more cohesive national citizenship. This then created an interesting conceptual background to the case as the research began.

Sweden

In contrast to the UK, Sweden is neither a post-imperial power¹⁵ nor a multi-national state. Similarly with the UK though, it too has seen a rapid acceleration of immigration in recent decades. Economic (labour) migration was substantial from the late 1950s until the 1970s although there was also a not insubstantial inflow of refugees, first from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary and latterly from South America (cf. Arnstberg 2008:11ff). During recent decades the pattern of immigration has continued to diversify with significant migration from

¹⁴ The bill also builds on ‘Confident Communities in a Secure Britain: The Home Office Strategic Plan 2004-2008’ (UK Parliament 2005).

¹⁵ Sweden did have a period as a ‘great power’ during the 16th and 17th centuries, occupying territory as far afield as modern-day Germany, Poland and Russia. However, it has not been involved in armed conflict since the Napoleonic wars.

neighbouring and EU countries alongside a steady intake of refugees, particularly from the Middle East. The single largest group of migrants in recent years are the relatives of previous immigrants who have been granted residence rights in order to allow family re-unification.¹⁶ In 2004 12.2% of the population were foreign born, an increase from 9.2% in 1990 and more than four times the 2.8% figure in 1950¹⁷ (cf. Lundh, 2005:19). During the period this research has been carried out the proportion of the Swedish population born abroad has continued to grow and in the latest, 2008, figures stands at 14%.¹⁸ There has been a substantial increase in the absolute number of foreign born residents in the last two decades from 790,000 in 1990 to 1,1 million in 2004 to 1,28 million in 2008¹⁹. Strikingly, despite this rapid increase in stock, the proportion of foreign born residents holding Swedish citizenship has increased significantly during this period from 39% in 1990 to 56% in 2004; and remains at this level (56%) in the latest figures for 2008.²⁰ This highlights the interest of the Swedish case as the research began, with the earlier figures suggesting that access to Swedish citizenship had become easier and conceptualisations of citizenship possibly more inclusive. Since 2001 the number of individuals gaining Swedish citizenship has remained fairly steady at around 35,000 per annum; 2006 being a substantial outlier with over 51,000 naturalising citizens recorded.

In the period covered by the research a number of Swedish governmental reports considered the impact of increased immigration and diversity on integration and citizenship policies (SOU 1996:55 & SOU 1999:34). These led to legislation being enacted (Regeringens proposition 1997:1998:16 & 1999:2000:147) and following

¹⁶ See Statistics Sweden reports *Beskrivning av Sveriges befolkning*, 2006 www.scb.se/statistik/publikationer/BE0101_2006A01_BR_BE0107TEXT.pdf and 2008 www.scb.se/statistik/publikationer/BE0101_2008A01_BR_BE0109TEXT.pdf

¹⁷ See Statistic Sweden 2004. *Tabeller over Sveriges befolkning*. www.scb.se/statistik/publikationer/BE0101_2004A01_BR_00_BE0105TAB.pdf

¹⁸ See 2008 report www.scb.se/statistik/publikationer/BE0101_2008A01_BR_BE0109TEXT.pdf

¹⁹ In the same period the total population rose from 8.59 million in 1990 to 9.01 million in 2004 and 9.26 million in 2008.

²⁰ In case of confusion amongst the diverse figures it is worth noting that the 56% figures for naturalised foreign born citizens in 2004 and 2008 is comparable with the UK's 43% figure in 2004 and 41% in 2008 (i.e. it is as a percentage of *all* foreign born residents, not only those who are eligible). See *Tabeller over Sveriges befolkning* 2004 (URI in footnote above) and 2008 www.scb.se/statistik/publikationer/BE0101_2008A01_BR_00_BE0109TAB.pdf

wide-ranging debate and consultation Sweden switched in 2001 to a relatively liberal policy in wholly permitting dual citizenship. The 1999 report on which the new law was based argued that allowing dual citizenship was necessary in adapting to the way both national and global society was ‘internationalising’, and the need to recognise the complexity of modern identities (SOU 1999:34: 9-10). Indeed, such recognition, the report stated, could help migrants by ‘contributing to a sense of greater ease, and (allowing) quicker integration, in the new society’ (Ibid:10). Sweden then also provided an intriguing and contemporarily relevant setting in which to explore understandings of citizenship.

In beginning the work it was premised that each country was responding in related yet particular ways. The worth of studying two settings lay in the comparative aspect it brought to the project and the way in which this forced specificity into the study of both cases. A discussion of the benefits of comparison can be found below in the chapter on research design.

Thesis Overview and Outline of the Chapters

Section I

This **Introduction** is the first of three chapters that lay the foundations of the research work. It has outlined the objectives of the research and the rationale supporting the work. It has delineated the central questions and how this research fits more broadly within the field of study. In addition a brief introduction to the cases has been provided. Below the chapter outlines each of the thesis’s chapters and what they set out to do. This highlights the central arguments made, the findings that have emerged from the empirical work and the conclusions the thesis will present.

Chapter 2 sets out to discuss the ideas that provide a conceptual frame for the thesis and it reviews the literature. The importance of the idea of citizenship as a bounded membership status is explained. The chapter also considers the way in

which citizenship is understood as having content; ideas about, for example, rights and duties, identity or expected behaviours or virtues. Policy thinking about naturalisation and dual citizenship is at the heart of the thesis's work and discussion in the literature of the 'growing salience' of dual citizenship is also considered. The research is premised on the argument that conceptualisations of citizenship are being incrementally refashioned. In three sections the chapter assesses the way in which evolving thinking about citizenship is conceptually contextualised: in responding to the challenges of globalisation, in relation to ideas about integration and in interplay with thinking about (national) identity. Lastly, the chapter assesses ways in which citizenship can be categorised or mapped and discusses Brubaker's ethnic-civic division, Castles and Miller's three-category typology and Koopmans and Statham's two-dimensional 'conceptual space' model. It concludes that the last of these provides a useful stimulus for analysis and reflection on conceptualisations of citizenship and presents a slightly adapted model that is returned to and utilised in the closing discussion of Chapter 9.

The purpose of **Chapter 3** is to discuss the design and methodological approach of the research. It considers the advantages of the qualitative and interpretive methodology adopted, contending that such an approach allows the research to focus on exploring how the meaning of citizenship is constituted and how conceptualisations are articulated. Although the research is built on an empirically-led specific study of each of the two cases in turn, the chapter also makes clear how reflective comparison later in the thesis brings a deeper understanding of both. A major task of the chapter is to explain how primary material was delineated and gathered and the discussion argues for the benefit of in-depth elite interviews with key policy-makers as an exceptionally rich source of material in studying conceptualisations of citizenship. The challenges of elite interviewing and how these were met are explained and approaches to understanding and analysing the data are also discussed. In doing so, the chapter makes clear how the work of the thesis has been carried out as 'empirical research in a reflective mode' and maintains that this is important in allowing the material to 'talk' and to lead the discussion in the thesis's analysis and findings.

Section II

Chapters 4 to 7 form the empirical second section of the thesis and assess the case material of policy documents and interview transcripts. Chapters 4 and 6 are somewhat shorter and principally utilise the documentary material. They consider the key policy changes that took place and assess the central themes that become apparent. Chapters 5 and 7 deepen the analysis of the material. They fully utilise the interviews and identify the central conceptualisations of citizenship that emerge in the respective cases.

Chapter 4 sets out to assess the development of citizenship policy in Sweden in the period from 1994-2007. The central piece of legislation, the citizenship law of 2001 that legitimised dual and multiple citizenship is discussed in detail. The chapter outlines how closely Swedish citizenship policy is connected with and built on integration policy and how the latter's emphasis on facilitating individual choice provided a strong conceptual foundation for the changes introduced in 2001. Discussion of the high-level policy work carried out during this period on citizenship and integration also emphasises the increasing importance of the idea of 'diversity' and the chapter notes how this was used both as a positive objective and as a way of articulating the context that policy was obliged to respond to. It is further argued that it was the ideational combination of emphasis on individuals' needs and recognition of expanding diversity that strongly influenced the negative position taken towards citizenship testing.

Expanding on this discussion **Chapter 5** identifies and analyses the five key conceptualisations of citizenship that appear in the Swedish empirical material and the ways in which they interplay. The chapter argues that, at its core, citizenship is understood as being about an interlocked 'trinity' of ideas: integration, equality and belonging. This trinity is bolstered by two further conceptualisations that view citizenship as about a 'welcoming' symbolism and as part of a 'response to a global, internationalising context'. The analysis discusses how the reform allowing dual citizenship was interpreted in policy as strongly beneficial to integration. The argument was that easing naturalisation aided the ability of individuals to make

symbolically clear that they were part of Swedish society and concurrently feel that their own dual or intricate sense of identity was accepted by that society. As the chapter shows this position was closely interwoven with an emphasis on equality and a conceptualisation of belonging that stressed certainty and a sense of security about one's place in society rather than 'Swedishness'. These ideas provided a conceptual bedrock against the introduction of language or societal knowledge tests in connection with naturalisation. In addition analysis finds that policy documents and policy-makers were keen to delineate and distinguish Sweden as 'welcoming'; and that further support for the legislative reforms came from the argument that they were a necessary part of responding to Sweden's position as an integrated part of a globalising world.

The objective of **Chapter 6** is to detail and assess the changes made in citizenship policy in the UK during the period from 1997-2007. It considers how citizenship is understood in a number of key documents and identifies the 2002 White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* as marking a radical shift in the approach to naturalisation and thinking about citizenship. This led to the introduction of citizenship tests and ceremonies in the UK and the chapter contemplates the key themes that developed conceptually in the material around these policy changes. The breadth of the agenda associated with citizenship is emphasised and it is shown how the concept rapidly became a strong focus of interest in responding to governmental objectives of societal integration and a quest for cohesion and common belonging.

Chapter 7 builds on Chapter 6's discussion of policy development and argues that five core conceptualisations of citizenship emerge from an analysis of the empirical material. Ideas of integration, belonging, diversity, common values and of citizenship acquisition as a 'journey' are identified as the central ways UK policy and policy-makers articulate the meaning of citizenship. Each of these conceptualisations is studied in detail and the way in which the conceptualisations interplay is analysed. The chapter makes plain that an interlocking of ideas about integration and belonging provide a foundation to understandings of citizenship in

the UK case. The idea of a *quid pro quo* appears as giving tone to the relationship between integration and citizenship; and ‘common values’ and ‘Britishness’ as attempts to provide substance both to citizenship itself and its link to ideas of belonging. The difficulty for policy-makers of concurrently emphasising commonality and diversity is also discussed and again the conceptual answer is found in their efforts to provide a sense of concrete content to citizenship. This is done through reference to values and shared identity and also through identifying citizenship as the result of a journey, with staging posts marked by a test and a ceremony, and naturalisation understood as a process of transition.

Section III

The third section presents a comparative reflection on and analysis of the thesis’s empirical findings. Chapters 8 and 9 work very closely together and in both chapters the cases are laid out alongside one another as a way of highlighting the nuances and idiosyncrasies of each.

The purpose of **Chapter 8** is to provide a detailed and contemplative comparative analysis of the findings from the two specific cases. It furthers the thesis’s response to the first two questions in developing understanding of how citizenship is conceptualised and in what ideational context this takes place. Principally however, it addresses the third question and discusses what is learnt through reflecting on the cases of Sweden and the UK side-by-side. The chapter is divided into four parts and each of these assesses a central area of contrast and comparison.

First analysed is the interplay between ideas of citizenship and integration. It is argued that although citizenship is viewed as an instrument to integration in each case, substantial conceptual differences exist. The Swedish conceptualisation emphasises entitlement in the context of reciprocity; and naturalisation is viewed as an aid to societal integration and belonging. In contrast the idea of naturalisation as part of a *quid pro quo* in the UK supports a view of the process as requiring effort; citizenship is earned through evidence of integration. In the UK understanding, one becomes a member and then gains citizenship. In Sweden, one gains citizenship in

order to aid one in becoming a member. Secondly, the chapter compares citizenship's conceptual relationship with belonging and identity in the two cases. Here it distinguishes a strong dissimilarity. Concern with 'Britishness' and the attendant emphasis on a 'journey' to UK citizenship were central in UK policy understandings. Notably distinct in the Swedish case was the almost negligible official reference to an idea of 'Swedishness'. Emphasis in policy lay instead on downplaying the concept of an 'immigrant' and belonging was conceptualised as a sense of individual security and certainty; a condition that again citizenship was seen as being an instrument towards.

The chapter contends that a lesson of the empirical material is a clear reluctance in policy and on the part of policy-makers to engage in 'othering', to define their national citizenship as characteristically different from elsewhere. Instead they seek some articulation of content as a way of providing meaning for citizenship and this is the third comparative theme assessed. In the UK a growing political emphasis on 'common values' played this role and sat alongside increasing control of the naturalisation process and the introduction of the citizenship test. In Sweden equality, expressed as a commonsensical 'fairness', was conceptualised both as the substantial value citizenship represented and that which the approach to naturalisation should follow. The chapter argues that this highlights a contrast between a Swedish conceptualisation of citizenship that creates expectations of the state in meeting the needs of resident individuals and a UK conceptualisation that oppositely places demands on individuals for the perceived benefit of the state. Fourthly and finally, understandings of citizenship in relation to diversity are considered. In the UK case the link is made through discussion that downplays ethnicity and in Sweden through emphasis on a symbolic welcoming both to individuals and to a globalising context. Citizenship ceremonies are viewed in both cases as a way of celebrating diversity. The chapter maintains however that they are also conceptualised in a way that symbolises some of the fundamental differences between the cases, with the idea of an integrative transition in the UK contrasted with a gaining of citizenship by right in Sweden.

Chapter 9 builds on and concludes the discussion and analysis of Chapter 8 and it summarises the findings of the thesis as a whole. It returns to and utilises the ‘conceptual space’ model discussed and developed in Chapter 2 in order to illustrate the ideational direction of citizenship conceptualisations in the United Kingdom and Sweden. The chapter argues that at a surface level analyses by policy-makers of the conceptual context affecting thinking about citizenship are similar; with ideas about raising the ‘status’ of citizenship and a civic positioning in common references to themes such as integration, belonging or diversity. However, as the thesis shows, the similarity of this broad conceptual frame covers divergent policy actions and very different and specific conceptualisations of what citizenship means. Plotting the policy actions and conceptualisations within the ‘conceptual space’ generates a similar picture. In both cases conceptualisations are shown to clearly push away from any suggestion of ethnic understandings and to solidify the civic emphasis in thinking about citizenship. However, Swedish conceptualisations incline towards a more pluralist ideal type in the model while UK conceptualisations take a comparatively assimilationist position. In closing, the chapter considers how the work done here could be taken forward.

Chapter 2. Conceptual Framework and Review of the Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the conceptual framework in which the questions are set and in which they are to be addressed. It prepares the ground for the empirical discussion and conceptual analysis of Chapters 4 to 8 and lays out the model which is returned to in Chapter 9 as a way of illustrating and summarising the thesis's findings. Understanding how citizenship is articulated and conceptualised in policy provides the central task of this study and across six sub-sections the chapter tackles three major areas of discussion. It considers, firstly, understandings of citizenship, secondly, the way in which contemporary thinking about citizenship is contextualised by current political processes and concerns, and thirdly, suggested models or typologies for comprehending approaches to citizenship.

The first section begins the chapter by highlighting the way in which citizenship is commonly understood as a status of political membership and relates this to the idea of citizenship as conceptually bounded and as carrying substance – a content of rights and duties, recognised practices and ideas about identity. This thesis considers how policy and policy-makers' conceptualisations articulate a meaning for citizenship and the chapter's second section outlines why citizenship policy material that deals with naturalisation and dual citizenship is of particular interest. The contemporary context in which citizenship is understood is then assessed with a focus on how, as a concept, it is influenced by and interplays with thinking about globalisation, integration and identity. Thus, section three considers how growing migration and diversity, as key parts of the broad process understood as globalisation, provide a background for evolving ideas about citizenship policy. A fourth section discusses ways of thinking about the interplay between citizenship and integration and section five then considers understandings of the relationship between citizenship and identity. A final section concludes the chapter by analysing typologies and conceptual schema that have been suggested for the consideration of citizenship. It assesses these and makes some adjustments to Koopmans and

Statham's (2000(a)) 'space for situating conceptions of citizenship'. This is the model which is returned to in Chapter 9 as a way of elucidating and emphasising the thesis's findings.

Understandings of Citizenship

Citizenship can be understood in a number of different ways. A wide variety of studies look at aspects as diverse as the legal status of citizens, the relationship between citizenship and the state, alternative philosophical understandings of the good citizen, citizen participation and behaviour or how citizenship links to feelings of belonging or expressions of loyalty (Aleinikoff & Klusmeyer 2001, Beiner 1995, Kivisto & Faist 2007, Kymlicka 1995, Miller 2000, Pattie et al. 2004).²¹ One can also read about the historical development of the idea of citizenship and its changing interpretation over time. The customary story begins in ancient Greece and Rome and progresses through the city-states of medieval Europe into a modern era of expanding suffrage and the welfare state (see, for example, Heater, 2004, Pattie et al. 2004, Roy 2005).

Common to many of these citizenship studies is that the focus lies in consideration of the content of citizenship (cf. Kymlicka & Norman 2000). This can be assessed both empirically or normatively through asking *what is* citizenship or *what should* it be? To an extent this study also engages with these questions; conceptualisations of citizenship and how they interplay is clearly a part of the *content* of citizenship - how it is conceived relates to what it is. Nevertheless, as noted in the introduction, this study is empirically and analytically rather than normatively driven and of parallel importance with content is consideration of citizenship's edges and how access is gained to citizenship. Therefore, in asking, 'how is citizenship being understood in contemporary policy?', a principal issue is 'how one becomes a citizen?' – what process takes place, how one comes to be seen to belong (cf. Klusmeyer 2000:6, Galloway 2000:83ff, Fernández 2005:92-95, Somers 2008:24). Consideration of this issue is important to the research because it draws attention to

²¹ Kivisto & Faist (2007:2) provide a representative (and rather entertaining) list of the variety of adjectives placed before 'citizenship' in the last couple of decades.

the centrality in the study of the notion of citizenship as a boundary marker of the political community. Allied with this is the idea of citizenship as political membership. Assessing the way in which citizenship is understood in such ways is central in providing a foundation to the way in which citizenship is conceptualised.

Acknowledgement of citizenship's function as a marker of membership is widespread in the literature. Faulks writes that: 'citizenship is a membership status' (Faulks 2000:13); Faist and his colleagues that one of the essential dimensions of citizenship is 'membership of a political community' (Faist et al. 2004:8). Morjé Howard contends that at its 'most basic level' citizenship is about 'membership in a national political community' (Morjé Howard 2006:444). Klusmeyer is also explicit about the implications of recognising citizenship as membership, stating that: 'the citizenry of a nation-state [...] is a membership association whose collective identity presupposes drawing lines between the included and the excluded' (Klusmeyer 2000:1).

There are particular implications of conceiving of citizenship as a membership status. As Klusmeyer suggests, the fact that some are and can be members, while others are not and cannot be, flags up the importance of boundaries. However, understanding citizenship as membership is also important to comprehending citizenship as a condition which has content - rights, duties, ideas of identity, perceived virtues – and supports political values: democracy and 'equality, justice and autonomy' (cf. Faulks 2000:13, Faist 2004:8-9, Benhabib 2005:675). Comparably, Koopman and Statham define citizenship as 'the set of rights, duties, and identities linking citizens to the nation-state' (Koopman & Statham 2000(a):28). Writing about the contemporary 'transformation of citizenship' Joppke contends that at least three aspects of citizenship can be discerned in research on the topic; it can be viewed as about status, as about rights, or as about identity. However, it might be argued that rights are contained within the idea of citizenship content while identity can be understood as related to both the idea of citizenship as about status and as about content; the idea of identity relates equally to ideas of boundary-crossing and membership as it does to behaviour and values.

Indeed, Joppke himself interestingly argues that too great a concentration on just one of the three foci he names risks missing the concept's core characteristic and he states the need to 'fold citizenship back to what it essentially is: membership in a state' (Joppke 2007: 37-38).

The figure often seen as having grounded modern understandings of citizenship, T.H. Marshall, understood these connections between the idea of citizenship as membership and the way in which this indicated both status and content:

'Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed.' (Marshall 1992 [1950]:18)²²

Marshall famously considered how the substance of citizenship had evolved incrementally in developing civil, political and social elements. Yet the idea of citizenship as a membership and a status also suggests the need for a process of entry. In contemplating immigration and citizenship Castles, like Klusmeyer, identifies 'access to citizenship' as one of the central issues and interestingly talks of this as 'the rules governing the extent to which immigrants and their children can formally become members of the *national* political community' (Castles 1999:56-57, my italics). Similarly, Kivisto and Faist argue that membership draws a boundary around those who belong:

'the distinction between citizens and noncitizens, those who were for one reason or another excluded from full membership as citizens in these

²² The purpose of Marshall's essay was, of course, to understand how citizenship and particularly the growing social rights associated with it could coexist alongside an inequitable system of social class. The hypothesis he began with and argued for was that, 'the inequality of the social class system may be acceptable provided the equality of citizenship is recognised' (Marshall 1992 [1950]:6).

societies [modern democratic nation-states], served as a significant and consequential differential mark of identity' (Kivisto and Faist 2007:16).

In considering how citizenship is conceived and formulated in policy it will be important to retain this sense of focus on the function of citizenship as a marker of political membership and the way in which it relates to ideas of belonging and integration in society. This understanding encourages an examination of the conditions, criteria and conceptualisations of membership.

Such criteria have been evolving in recent years and Feldblum contends that there has been a 'proliferation of nationality and citizenship reforms' which she argues are 'indicators of how states seek to reprioritize citizenship as part of their efforts to manage membership distribution' (Feldblum 2000:476).²³ More broadly, Kivisto and Faist identify citizenship as 'currently undergoing a significant process of redefinition' (Kivisto & Faist 2007:13). Faulks argues strongly that 'citizenship is [...] a dynamic identity' connected to 'what social and political arrangements form the context in which it is practised'. This points to the way in which citizenship regimes²⁴ are changing and evolving to the needs of contemporary times with the idea of citizenship itself being 'inherently contested and contingent' (Faulks 2000:6). This has likewise been the case in Sweden and the UK and such dynamic contestation is, of course, the focus of this work.

²³ It is worth recognising that, somewhat confusingly, the term 'nationality' is often used as a synonym for both citizenship and national identity. In international law there is no distinction between 'citizenship' and 'nationality' and in common use in the English language 'national identity' and 'nationality' are seen as identical. In this work the concepts 'citizenship' and 'national identity' are preferred and 'nationality' is only used in citing others. The need for reflection and care in the use of the term is apparent through comparison of two thoughtful pieces of work considering the interplay of citizenship and national identity. Faist et al. use 'dual citizenship' and 'dual nationality' interchangeably and define 'nationality' as 'full membership in a state and the corresponding state law and subjection to state power' (Faist et al. 2004:8). Alfonsi views 'national identity' and 'nationality' as synonymous and defines 'nationality' as 'inclusion in a cultural community' (Alfonsi 1997:53).

²⁴ To avoid any uncertainty, 'regime' is understood here in its normal semantic sense as referring to prevailing systems or social patterns.

Acquiring Citizenship

The elements of citizenship policy which address the way in which citizenship is gained by non-citizens play a central role in this study. Although naturalisation policy does not exclusively mark the boundaries of citizenship, discussion of it provides the material where such issues are most explicitly addressed. Klusmeyer notes that citizenship is obtained through ‘three primary means’: birth in the territory, descent and naturalisation (Klusmeyer 2000:5). Specific emphasis upon, and combinations of, these different routes vary from state to state and provide an important indication of the way in which citizenship is conceptualised. As Hansen argues: ‘national citizenship should be judged against two standards: the way in which it is granted automatically and the means by which it is acquired’ (Hansen 2000(a):42).

It is understandings of citizenship that emerge in relation to the latter of these two standards that is central to this work. Naturalisation policy can be seen as articulating where the boundaries of political membership of the state lie between outsiders and insiders and the pathways and processes through which these boundaries can be metaphorically crossed. Hammar was early in identifying the possible links between questions of (dual) citizenship and political integration. Already in 1985 he argued that there was a democratic problem for representative government when a substantial number of residents were excluded from political participation and he linked citizenship and the holding of rights to successful integration. In a substantial study examining ‘the extent to which citizenship policies can and ought to aid the integration of immigrants into receiving states’ amongst the key issues emphasised by Klusmeyer are ‘rules concerning acquisition of citizenship’ and the ‘issue of plural citizenship-nationality’ (Foreword in Klusmeyer & Aleinikoff 2000:ix, Klusmeyer 2000:2). Interestingly for this study and as will be seen below, the first of these is central to the UK case and the second core to developments in Sweden. In concluding the study in the same volume Feldblum remarked the ‘growing salience’ of alterations to policy positions on dual nationality (Feldblum 2000:494, cf. Faist et al. 2004, Hansen & Weil 2002). She also noted the way in which ‘policy disputes’ and debates over citizenship

acquisition ‘rely on understandings and conceptions of national membership’ and encouragingly for the work done here she argued the need for research into these processes and their impact on policy (Feldblum 2000:477, 482).

The occurrence of dual citizenship has expanded rapidly in recent years. Kivisto and Faist noting that as ‘an empirical phenomenon [...] the number of dual citizens has grown dramatically’ (Kivisto and Faist 2007:103).²⁵ In a 2004 study which included Sweden as one of its cases, Faist et al. note a general movement towards adopting more open dual citizenship policy. For them this is the result of ‘politically inclusive understandings of nationhood coupled with explicit multicultural or minority policies and political rights for permanent residents [which] have established a favourable context for increasing tolerance towards dual nationality’ (Faist et al. 2004:24). In his analysis of the UK at the turn of the century, Hansen portrays naturalization policy as relatively undogmatic. He notes, for example, that no renunciation of other citizenships is required. The 1998 White Paper *Fairer, Faster, Firmer* suggests a fairly dispassionate approach to the issue with the assertion that: ‘By accepting the concept of dual citizenship [...] we recognise [that] it is possible to be a citizen of two countries and a good citizen of both’ (Home Office 1998:ch.10 (originally cited in Hansen 2000(a):45)). Such citations in relation to dual citizenship highlight the potential role of citizenship policy as a way of ‘normalising’ outsiders and, again, a concurrent awareness of it as a membership status. In reviewing the ways in which states seem to be ‘rethinking how better to manage national membership’ Feldblum uses an indicative turn of phrase when she contends that developing ‘policy trends may be encapsulated by the term *‘rationing citizenship’* and writes of the need to ‘pay close attention to efforts to manage the allocation and distribution of [...] national citizenship’ (Feldblum 2000:494, italics in original).

The use of such terms as ‘allocation’, ‘distribution’ and ‘rationing’ emphasises the sense in the literature that access to citizenship is being controlled and limited. The

²⁵ Kivisto and Faist 2007:104-121 and Koslowski 2000:139-155 provide useful historical overviews of dual citizenship’s evolution.

metaphorical boundaries of citizenship policy may be more permeable and crossable than before but they remain as barriers which symbolise a fundamental rule of bounded membership – everyone cannot be a member. The strong territorial basis of modern states means that part of the filtering process is clearly physical and Geddes notes the links between approaches to immigration and ideas about citizenship and sovereignty, arguing that policies focused on immigrants act to ‘re-organise and re-imagine the organisational and conceptual boundaries of a given community [...] such that capacity to include or exclude newcomers is generated’ (Geddes 2003:23). He sees ‘debate about the meaning of national citizenship’ as responding to and informing immigration and integration policy and talks of evolving ‘conceptual boundaries of the British nation state’ (Ibid: 29, 40. cf. Dell’Olio 2002). Koopmans and Statham similarly see citizenship as having emerged as a ‘central analytical category’ in attempts to manage and understand migration and ethnic relations (Koopmans & Statham 2000(a):28ff.).

Considering the empirical validity of such assessments plays an important role in the research. Studying the role of citizenship as bounded political membership provides an important building block in understanding how conceptualisations of citizenship operate. However, as noted, naturalisation as a term and a process suggests not only boundary-crossing but also the existence of some sort of content to citizenship. This can stretch broadly from substantial rights and duties to ideas about belonging and values to expectations about behaviour and knowledge – one’s ability to communicate in a common language or to understand societal norms. In recent years a number of states have made increasing demands of naturalising citizens through the introduction of tests of language and civic or cultural knowledge (cf. Hampshire 2009). In addition, a content to citizenship is also suggested through the use of ceremonies as a way of marking the ‘achievement’ of new citizens in naturalising. Acceptance of, or resistance to, dual citizenship can also be seen as an indication of how citizenship is being conceptualised and what substance – in terms of identity, loyalty, common understandings – it represents.

Joppke contends that ‘citizenship is no longer exempt from the sociological commonplace that people have multiple identities’ (Joppke 2007:40). Comprehending how policy changes align with shifting understandings as to what constitutes the content of citizenship is one of the objectives of this research. In order to do so it is also important to understand the context in which conceptualisations of citizenship are evolving. Castles and Miller comment that ‘dual citizenship has become important for immigrants, because it seems an appropriate way of managing the multiple identities which arise from globalization’ (Castles & Miller 2003:244). Globalisation and the processes associated with it are, of course, redefining concepts across the social sciences and it is to their influence on citizenship that this chapter now turns.

Contextualising Change: Globalisation, Migration and Diversity

The impact of the processes described by the term ‘globalisation’²⁶ are widely seen as impacting on citizenship. Pattie et al. contend that there has been a ‘weakening of state power brought about by globalisation’ (Pattie et al. 2004:3) while Castles talks of globalisation as one of the ‘major factors’ causing a ‘rethink of models of democracy and citizenship’ (Castles 1999:55). Miller emphasises identity-based politics (both national and cultural/lifestyle) and globalisation as the major challenges facing citizenship (Miller 2000:1-2).

In assessing and understanding conceptualisations of citizenship in policy an awareness of globalisation’s destabilising essence is crucial. Increasing migration, leading to and interconnected with increasingly pluralist societies brings strong pressure to bear on the institution of citizenship and the way in which it is conceptualised. As noted in the introduction these processes and the responses to them set the context of the study and may be seen as the underlying forces provoking the relevance and significance of the research questions. This section

²⁶ ‘Globalisation’ is, of course, a contested and controversial concept and there is argument over what exactly should be covered by the term and how powerful and unique the processes it describes really are. Baylis & Smith (2008), Held & McGrew (2003), Scholte (2005) and Beck (2000) provide useful introductions. Discussion of such debates, however, is not within the scope of this study.

highlights the recognised importance of these issues in the literature and addresses their pertinence to the research.

Increasing Migration

Castles notes migration as one of the major factors making 'it necessary to rethink models of democracy and citizenship' (Castles 1999:55ff). Developing their model for 'situating conceptions of citizenship' - which is returned to below - Koopmans and Statham argue that increasing migration is changing state understandings of citizenship and 'the relationship between minorities/migrants, their collective action and the host society'. They argue for the need for fuller studies of the political processes that influence understandings of citizenship (Koopmans & Statham 2000(a):23-26). For Fernández too migration is shifting the relationship between the nation and the state – 'the alliance between nationality and rights is disentangling and leading to a position where groups with foreign nationality are holders of rights' (Fernández: 2005:105-106). This alludes to the idea of denizenship, accredited to Tomas Hammar, which emphasises that many membership rights are becoming available to immigrants simply through residence. Soysal critiques such a position as remaining within the 'confines of the nation-state model' and takes forward a stronger thesis of an emerging postnational membership founded on the idea(l) of 'universal personhood' and acceptance of human rights (Soysal 1994:139&140). Soysal develops her position through consideration of the 'incorporation regimes' and integration policies of a number of European states and is sentient to the linkages between national identity and citizenship. Despite arguing that 'a new mode of membership, anchored in the universalistic rights of personhood, transgresses the national order of things' she goes on to acknowledge that 'As an *identity*, national citizenship [...] still prevails' (Ibid:159, my italics).

Soysal viewed increasing migration as arguably undermining national citizenship. This is a view shared by others and while recognising that 'monopoly over territory is exercised through immigration and citizenship policies' Benhabib can concurrently argue that this is despite our contemporary position 'in the face of the

collapse of traditional conceptions of state sovereignty' (Benhabib 2005:673). In contrast Joppke, in a study explicitly focused on the relationship between citizenship and immigration which considers the 'different ways in which the immigration experience reconfirmed or transformed these citizenship conceptions' argues that the case of Germany teaches that 'national citizenship remains indispensable for immigrant integration' (Joppke 1999(a):632&645). Faist et al. also note how conceptualisations of national citizenship are influenced by immigration and immigration policy, arguing that a study of the Netherlands 'suggests that conceptions of the nation and nationhood have been changing constantly and in tandem with understandings of immigrant integration' (Faist et al. 2004:20). As noted above, Geddes argues that UK citizenship policy evolved through response to the immigration debates of the 1960s and 1970s (Geddes 2003:38-40) while for Klusmeyer citizenship policy can 'be a highly significant [...] indicator of a host society's commitment to facilitating inclusion and as a means of securing the status of newcomers' (Klusmeyer 2000:2).

Grasping the impact of migration is central then to attempting to understand the context in which conceptualisations of citizenship are evolving. This link is explicit in the titles given to the responsible UK ministers in recent years. The minister for 'Immigration, Citizenship and Nationality' has been common, while the incumbent at time of writing is the Borders and Immigration minister. The UK's renamed Border Agency was originally its 'Immigration and Nationality Directorate'. Similarly, the Swedish citizenship legislation endorsing dual citizenship laid out its rationale in reference to increasing migration, noting that 'more than one in ten of those who live in Sweden today were born abroad' (SOU 1999:34: 9).

Increasing Diversity

Increasingly plural societies result from and further stimulate immigration. These ongoing processes lead to a context of incrementally progressing cultural and ethnic diversity. In identifying 'contemporary debates about citizenship' Pattie and his colleagues noted issues 'relating to multiculturalism and the growth of heterogeneous populations' as an important area of focus (Pattie et al. 2004:12).

Writers have addressed the issue in a variety of ways. Miller (2000) probes the question theoretically in his essay on ‘citizenship and pluralism’ while Kymlicka and Norman (2000) attempt to draw together debates about the rights of minorities in diverse societies and more content-focused discussions of citizenship which emphasise its supposed efficacy in promoting civic virtue. Favell (1998) considered differing ‘philosophies of integration’ in the UK and France in his study of how liberal democracies respond to ‘ethnic dilemmas’.

The term ‘multicultural(ism)’ is central to these discussions both as a synonym for culturally plural societies and as a specific policy approach for governing such societies. However, some problems stem from this dual-use of the word and these are briefly considered before the section outlines the way in which the policy of multiculturalism has been challenged by ongoing citizenship reform.

‘Multiculturalism’ is regularly, and problematically, used in two different but often indistinct ways (cf. Koopmans and Statham 2000(a):29). In everyday speech it is commonly used as a straightforward, descriptive term denoting a diverse, plural, heterogeneous, ‘multi-ethnic’ and hence multicultural society or community. However, ‘multiculturalism’ also describes a specific prescriptive policy response and normative approach to dealing with heterogeneous societies where a certain amount of separation between identifiable (national, ethnic or cultural) groups within a wider society is seen as acceptable and the central problem becomes the interplay between specific ‘group rights’ and the individual rights of people as citizens of the state (cf. Kymlicka (2002) Ch. ‘Multiculturalism’). In order to avoid confusion, the term multiculturalism is used in this research to refer to the policy approach with which it is identified. The terms ‘diverse’ or ‘plural(ist)’ are used to describe societies which are becoming more ethnically and culturally heterogeneous.

In their discussion of the contextual pathways leading towards greater openness in dual citizenship policy Faist et al. note that culturally pluralist integration policies are interconnected to that process (Faist et al. 2004:25). Interestingly they argue

that dual citizenship might arguably be seen as a partial ‘substitute for explicit minorities or multicultural policies’ (Ibid). In his study of the impact of contemporary migration in Europe Geddes also notes a movement in a number of countries, including the UK and Sweden, away from the more ‘multicultural’ policies of the 1980s and towards promoting immigrant integration. Geddes cites the 2002 White Paper, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* in the UK which ‘spoke of ‘integration with diversity’’ (Geddes 2003:5). This is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 and highlights how in responding to an increasingly heterogeneous society the UK has arguably shifted from a ‘multicultural’ policy to one emphasising greater integration. However, there was still a willingness to use ‘multicultural’ in a descriptive sense and in the spirit of ‘integration with diversity’ the White Paper states: ‘our society is multicultural and is shaped by its diverse peoples. We want British citizenship positively to embrace the diversity of background, culture and faiths that is one of the hallmarks of Britain in the 21st century’ (Home Office 2002:29). This hints at what Brown innovatively describes as a sort of ‘multicultural nationalism’, where national communities are ‘bound together by common values relating to the celebration of ethnic diversity, and the commitment to interethnic equity’ (Brown 2000:128). Indeed this is very close to the conclusion that Joppke comes to in his study on immigration’s impact on citizenship, noting that ‘for Europe’s second generation immigrants, assimilation is no longer a prerequisite of citizenship acquisition; in this sense their citizenship is multicultural citizenship’ (Joppke 1999(a):646).

The interesting idea here is that in the later part of the 1990s and through this decade there has been an identifiable shift in thinking about integration, multiculturalism and their relationship with citizenship. Arguably this is a move from what might be termed ‘exclusive multiculturalism’ – a society divided between ‘us and them’ where we (the majority and native population) tolerate them - towards ‘inclusive multiculturalism’, where ‘us and them’ becomes ‘us’ characterised as a diverse group. In this way, emphasis on ‘integration’ thus becomes integration to a pluralist society, as opposed to assimilation to a monocultural host society. And multiculturalism is about supporting integration

and diversity rather than a toleration of others living separately but alongside the majority society. This latter conception is often referred to in UK material as the threat of ‘parallel lives’ and is discussed in the empirical chapters. More broadly, the idea of shifting conceptions of the interplay between integration, citizenship and ‘multiculturalism’ is returned to at various points in the thesis’s discussion, most immediately in the section below specifically focused on citizenship and integration.

Thinking about migration and diversity also comes together in the idea of transnationalism. In the simplest terms this concept attempts to grasp the idea of people living concurrent lives in more than one state. People who according to Portes et al. ‘live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders’ (Portes et al. 1999: 217). Transnationalist lives are supported by developments in technology and transport and facilitated by a globalisation which has allowed the ‘growth of circulatory or repeated mobility, in which people migrate regularly between a number of places where they have economic, social or cultural linkages’ (Castles and Miller 2003: 29).

It is important to distinguish the idea of transnationalism from the migrant who simply keeps contact with their home country through the internet or the serial migrant who may move from country to country as an international career progresses. Transnationalism requires some form of integration and involvement in two (or more) different state territories. Transnationals will have bank accounts, social networks and work commitments in more than one place and retain deep links and loyalty to each. What Bommes has termed ‘the emergence of pluri-local modes of life’ (Bommes 2005). The notion of transnationalism is then the leading of ‘two active lives’ in one; lives which may encourage and be supported by dual citizenship and sit alongside an evolving sense of dual identity (Cf. Faist 2000 and Castles & Miller 2003: 30).

Faist sees growing transnationalist patterns as closely linked to ‘dual state membership’ and mixed identities and Castles and Miller have asserted that ‘globalization is leading to multiple identities and transnational belonging [and...] multicultural citizenship appears to be the most viable solution to the problem of defining membership of a nation-state in an increasingly mobile world’ (Faist 2000, Castles & Miller 2003:253). The research carried out assesses the reality or otherwise of these arguments in the content of policy discourse; not least in relation to ways in which citizenship as membership is linked to ideas about national identity, belonging and integration.

Contextualising Change: Citizenship and Integration

Work cited earlier by, for example, Joppke, Soysal, Faist et al and Klusmeyer all pointed to the link between citizenship and thinking about strategies for integration. Indeed the literature suggests a general acceptance that approaches to integration have evolved in response to the patterns of increased immigration and diversity discussed above (cf. Favell 2001). In 1997 Glazer could already argue that ‘we are all multiculturalists now’ (Glazer 1997) and Joppke notes that public campaigns for unity and integration are inevitably conducted in a ‘universalistic idiom’ (Joppke 2007:46). Brubaker acknowledges that public policy and discourse became increasingly pluralist in all sorts of areas as recognition of difference and attempts to tolerate and even promote it became increasingly popular in both discursive and policy terms. He notes that this was not solely in relation to immigration, but also in recognition of regional difference and minority interests and ‘in generalized opposition to the homogenizing, centralizing claims of the modern nation-state’ (Brubaker: 2001:532). Nevertheless, writing in 2001, he could already contend that ‘this massive differentialist turn in social thought, public discourse, and public policy shows signs of having exhausted itself’ (Ibid). Instead, he argued that there was an identifiable ‘return to assimilation’. For the purposes of this discussion it is important to note two points. Firstly, that when Brubaker uses ‘assimilation’ it is synonymous with ‘integration’, ‘a term that often, especially in the European context, refers to much the same thing’ (Ibid:540). Secondly, his argument is not that there has been a ‘return to assimilation’ practices of decades before and

‘brutally homogenizing aspirations’ but rather that the pendulum had turned and that policy was now increasingly concerned with the process of integration. What Brubaker observed was a ‘normative and analytical concern with the nature and extent of emerging similarities in particular domains between populations of immigration origin and ‘host’ populations’ (Ibid:535). Similarly, Lewis and Neal argue that key social and political tensions have arisen around the effect of growing migration on government policy and ‘strategies of multiculturalism [which are] aimed at the (further) integration of minority ethnic or settled communities of earlier groups of immigrants’ (Lewis & Neal 2005:427).

Discussion later in this chapter makes clear the sense of interplay between the concepts of citizenship and identity; and citizenship’s role in this detected move towards more accentuated integration approaches is identified by a number of authors. Geddes notes the linking of citizenship changes with ideas about ‘immigrant integration’ (Geddes 2003:5) and Faist points to the way in which the Swedish debate on citizenship linked to social integration policies – a topic returned to in depth, of course, in the following empirical chapters (Faist et al. 2004:21-22). In a substantial review article Favell has argued that ‘the idea of citizenship’ is ubiquitously presented as the progressive way of ‘trying to imagine how Western societies will deal with their ethnic dilemmas and achieve social cohesion under conditions of cultural diversity and conflict’ (Favell 2001:357).²⁷ The link between citizenship and integration is perhaps unsurprising given the way the concept of citizenship has been used historically as an aid to societal cohesion. Marshall argued that the development of citizenship ‘had an integrating effect’ since ‘citizenship requires a bond of a different kind [to the ‘fiction of common descent’], a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession’ (Marshall 1992 [1950]:24).

²⁷ Favell listed a long and useful list of policies that may relate to integration. These include ‘formal naturalization and citizenship (or residence-based) rights’ and notably the others relate principally to social policy’s role in aiding immigrants and recognising difference. Interestingly, in his review of integration policies and research there was little sense of policy that pushed for individual action to integrate, with the exception of ‘language and cultural courses in the host society’s culture’ (Favell 2001:351).

Interestingly then, over half a century ago, Marshall was already arguing that racist ideas of ethnicity or 'kinship' were slowly replaced by a more civic national identity in a long historical process. Such a civic identity acted to integrate society as it went hand-in-hand with the development of citizenship and its related rights: 'we see this clearly in the eighteenth century, which saw the birth, not only of modern civil rights, but also of modern national consciousness' (Ibid:25).

Observing the interplay of citizenship and national identity and their role in an integration process is, then, not new. Nevertheless, the change identified by the authors above and studied in this piece of research is how citizenship is being conceptualised as a way of responding to intensifying patterns of diversity and immigration. The literature suggests that a perceived role for citizenship with regard to immigrant integration will focus thinking particularly on approaches to naturalisation and ideas about the content and status of citizenship. As noted, over twenty years ago Hammar hypothesised that on the back of increasing migration the future was likely to see a significant boost in the number of people holding dual or multiple citizenship and argued hopefully that 'future increases in dual citizenship will protect political rights and foster political integration' (Hammar 1985:438). Much more recently, in his cross-national comparative work on citizenship regimes, Morjé Howard argues that one of the principal reasons 'national citizenship matters' is because:

'[...] it is logical to assume that naturalized citizens will tend to have a better command of the national language, to experience more loyalty to the new country, to be relatively accepted by their fellow citizens [...thus] citizenship acquisition can serve as a rough measure of integration, and the different possibilities to acquire citizenship will have lasting implications for the long-term integration of immigrants.' (Morjé Howard 2006:445-446)

Accepting this argument of Morjé Howard's, part of the integration-aiding content of citizenship seems to be the encouragement of a sense of identity. In discussing

the case of the UK Lewis and Neal contend that ‘The call to reconfigure the contours of belonging through the frame of integration is clearly apparent in the content of the British Government’s 2002 White Paper with its call for citizenship testing and the crafting of a sense of belonging around ‘core British values’ (Lewis and Neal 2005:431).²⁸ Conceptually, the linking of integration and citizenship requires content and this may focus around vague if sincere notions of both ‘belonging’ and common ‘values’, be they behavioural norms – speaking the language – or recognition of rights and duties. In Brubaker’s consideration of the turn towards more actively integrationist policy approaches to migrants he emphasises this role for citizenship in symbolising similarity – and thus integration – between society’s members. He argues that the ‘new practices, policies, and discourse surrounding citizenship are assimilationist, rather, in the sense of political recognizing, legally constituting, and symbolically emphasizing *commonality* rather than difference’ (Brubaker 2001:539, italics in original).²⁹

In a recent review Joppke notes, however, that ‘the possibilities of liberal states to produce unity and integration by means of symbolic citizenship policies are tightly limited’ (Joppke 2007:45). In 2001 Favell could argue that ‘When linked to questions about integration or multiculturalism, the idea of citizenship [...] gestures towards tolerance and the recognition of difference, openness to diversity, and even positive action or cultural rights for minorities’ (Favell 2001:357-358). Although noting the stronger shape of integrationist thinking as the current decade has progressed Joppke’s argument is that the recognition of and respect for diversity in pluralistic societies has become so institutionalised that any attempt to articulate an exclusionary discourse would come under substantial and sustained critique. This ironically results in the content and ‘commonality’ of national citizenship in different countries being expressed in near identical ways, in ‘replicas of the self-same idiom of liberal democracy: freedom, equality, tolerance and so on’ (Joppke 2007:45).

²⁸ The White Paper Lewis and Neal focus upon is *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*, a document which is discussed extensively below.

²⁹ Brubaker makes this statement in discussing the German case and the easing of naturalisation regulations there in the 1990s. Nevertheless, the sentiment of the citation captures the wider argument expressed in his article.

In the empirical work of this thesis the way in which citizenship is conceptualised in relation to integration will clearly play a central role. As seen above, understandings of the relationship are strongly influenced by the way in which conceptualisations of citizenship interplay with ideas about the meaning of national identity and belonging. It is to that crucial relationship's role in contextualising how citizenship is understood that the chapter now turns.

Contextualising Change: Citizenship and Identity

As outlined above, a basic supposition of this work is that the closeness of the association between national identity and citizenship, the nexus they form, is of central importance in marking ideas about citizenship and how it is understood in policy. Favell notes that it is not always recognised that 'you cannot have citizenship without the social and state structures that make its various components realistic and meaningful: in historic terms, the nation-state' (Favell 2001:358). This section outlines ways in which firstly, the interconnection between citizenship and national identity have been theorised, discusses secondly, how identity formation and sustention occur and notes thirdly, how this presents the idea of national citizenship as a necessarily evolving and relational concept.

Theorising the Connection

The roots and complexity of the link between citizenship and national identity can be traced clearly to the similarly complex relationship between the state and nation. The logic of this relationship and the conceptual difficulties that often arise in studying it are briefly assessed here. An understanding of this is important to the study because of the symbiotic connection between the binaries 'nation-state' and 'national citizenship', and thus the way in which citizenship, understood as political membership of the state is influenced by and interrelated to ideas about the nation and national identity.

Historically the conceptual entanglement of nation and state began to take place at an accelerating pace from the late seventeenth century onwards. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 is often referred to as the start of the period marking the rise of

the modern nation-state, although this remains the subject of substantial academic debate. Kedourie, for example, opens his influential text 'Nationalism' with the words: 'Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century' (Kedourie 1993:1). The exact chronology of the process; when nation-states became identifiable; how the concepts meshed and interrelate; which came first (if either) and how many states have ever managed to do more than vaguely approximate to the national model have all been long-term and ongoing areas of dispute within nationalism studies (cf. Anderson 1991, Breuilly 1993, Gellner 1994, Hobsbawm 1992 & 1994, Nairn 1994. For an overview see Smith 1998).

Attempts to define both concepts and clearly distinguish one from the other have also provided fertile ground for academic study. In a seminal contribution, Walker Connor attacked the sloppiness of equating nation with state and of uncritically characterising as 'nation-states' countries that were plainly multi-national (Connor 1978). Oommen too expresses his exasperation with the confusion of the concepts (Oommen 1997:13-19) and attempts to present a definitive position in concluding that the state is 'a legally constituted entity which provides its residents protection from internal insecurity and external aggression' while it is 'the fusion of territory and language that makes a nation; a nation is a community in communication in its homeland' (Ibid:33).

It suffices for the purposes of this discussion to acknowledge these debates and the value of conceptual clarification. Here, in line with Connor, Oommen and others (cf. Jary & Jary 1999, McLean 1996) the 'state' is understood as a legal, political and administrative entity which directs and provides a structure for the distribution of power within its boundaries. Thus the principal purpose of the state is governance. 'Nation' is understood to refer to a group of people who identify themselves as sharing a collective, common identity or to use Anderson's classic formulation, form part of an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991).³⁰ It is this

³⁰ Anderson's definitive explanation of his influential phrase can be found in *Imagined Communities* pages 5-7: '[...] imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of

reference to and provision of a shared identity and belonging which forms the principal purpose of the nation.³¹

Historically the reason behind the seemingly casual blurring of the concepts and the consequent ire of social scientists was the tremendous impression of legitimacy the designation 'nation-state' was perceived to accord the state. As democratic ideas grew in the wake of the French and American revolutions and through the nineteenth century into the twentieth, legitimacy for the discharge of political power increasingly came through association with the will of the people. Thus a state concurrent with and serving the interests of the nation - the people - became a powerful emblem of democratic legitimacy. This development can be particularly traced to Europe, Oommen stating that it was in 'the Old World states' that attempts were made to 'fuse citizenship and nationality' (Oommen 1997:36)³². Alfonsi argues that as a result of the developing symbiotic relationship between state and nation that 'Western Europe was the place where most of the cultural and ideological conceptions regarding citizenship and nationality, some erroneous assumptions regarding their co-terminality and/or models for their integration had been formulated and adopted for the first time' (Alfonsi 1997:53).

Such a position has led to the norm of 'national citizenship' prevalent in Europe today and the complex interlocking of ideas about citizenship, national identity and belonging. The immigration patterns and growing pluralism outlined above are challenging this and underpin the interest in empirically studying the two cases. The relationship between the concepts and attempts to understand their different

their fellow-members, [...] community because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson 1991:6-7).

³¹ As various commentators have noted, it has proven impossible to develop a general theory that can clinically isolate and identify the specific or sufficient factors necessary to explain the dynamics driving the belief in a shared national identity. Different national identities may emphasise to varying extents one or more aspects such as common territory, descent, language, culture, religion, beliefs, economic cooperation, behavioural traits and so forth, but no specific blend of these is common to all nations. Identifiable in all national identities however is an attempt to conceptualise the boundaries of one's identity through distinguishing one's own group as 'different' from others. The issue of interest then becomes the operation of the boundary mechanisms (cf. Armstrong 1982) and this issue is discussed in depth below.

³² In the context of this citation 'nationality' is used by Oommen to mean 'national identity'. See the footnote above discussing their use as synonyms.

patterns of interplay within national citizenship often utilise two principal dichotomies. These are the division of citizenship regimes into *jus sanguinis* (based on birth within a bloodline) or *jus soli* (based on birth within a territory) in their approach to membership; and classification of nation-states as either *ethnic* or *civic* in their understanding of who can become a member. The *jus sanguinis/jus soli* distinction is outlined briefly here while the *ethnic/civic* dichotomy is returned to below.

The emphasis of both *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* approaches to citizenship is association with the state through birth. A *jus sanguinis* (literally ‘right of blood’) regime will distribute citizenship on the basis of parentage and descent; thus, to whom one is born acts as the guiding ethic of automatically granted citizenship. A *jus soli* (literally ‘right of the soil’) regime emphasises the need for a citizen to have been born on the state’s territory, or perhaps more accurately, within the state’s borders; thus, where one is born determines the automatic granting of citizenship. Within the literature Germany and France were classically given as the European examples that most clearly contrast *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* traditions. Until relatively recently Germany continued to obstruct citizenship for residents of foreign parentage who were born and had lived all their life on German territory, while providing it to the descendents of ethnic Germans who had not lived within the boundaries of the German state for generations. Alternatively, France presents an example where citizenship is bestowed principally through focus on those born within its territory (cf. Brubaker 1992:75-84, 94-102, 122-125).³³

It was noted in the introduction that the research outlined here is premised on the notion that increasingly pluralist, multi-ethnic and culturally diverse societies which are recognised as such will prompt reflection over the relationship between national identity and citizenship, even reformulation of the meaning of ‘national citizenship’. Alfonsi argues that in theorising about the development of the

³³ Albeit illustratively useful, this is a somewhat simplistic division and although leaning towards the respective poles both Germany and France combine elements of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*. Weil (2001) provides an analysis of the role of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* in the different legal traditions influencing citizenship policy in twenty-five (mostly European) countries.

relationship there is a separation of views ‘embodied’ by the writing of Habermas and Anthony Smith. The former sees a movement towards increasingly civic conceptions of identity, in a sense the victory of citizenship as a primary identity, shorn of more ethnic, cultural, kinship – and thus arguably, ‘national’ connotations (Habermas 1994). Smith, alternatively, is interpreted by Alfonsi as arguing that national identity is still salient, with nation-states still bearing the ‘imprint of principles and components that are both territorial and ethnic’ (Alfonsi 1997:69-71).

Habermas’s idea suggests that the civic and political values and content of citizenship are gradually coming to also be seen as the content of national identity. In this sense, national identity and citizenship are being drawn yet closer with citizenship’s norms gradually permeating understandings of national identity. Castles interprets Habermas as arguing that a democratic state can demand political but not cultural assimilation, that is, assimilation to the norms of citizenship but not to cultural norms (Castles 1999:62). This suggests the future of the national identity-citizenship nexus as an evolving integrative concept which can absorb ‘others’; of states becoming multi-national and multi-ethnic and this very diversity being seen as the national norm. The same process is identified by Kymlicka who notes how endeavours to separate ethnicity and the state are compared to the way church and state were separated in the past; arguing that this is an attempt to create a ‘colour-blind’, multicultural society (Kymlicka 1995:3&4).³⁴

Habermas himself has speculated on whether ‘the classic form of the nation-state is at present disintegrating’ (Habermas 1994:21) and there has been a substantial body of literature, normative, empirical and explorative, probing and speculating on the prospects for developing postnational or cosmopolitan forms of citizenship

³⁴ Although Kymlicka himself sees the comparison as flawed. One should also note that recognition of such a process does not suggest the end of the nation-state or even indeed a loosening of the close relationship between the two concepts. As Joppke states in discussing the German position: ‘If the nation qua ethnocultural nation is no longer the basis of the German state, this cannot mean that the latter is becoming a non-national state [...] Rather, it means that, over time, German nationhood will have to be defined more along civic-territorial than exclusively ethno-genealogical lines’ (Joppke 1999(a):638).

(Held 1995, Held & Archibugi 1995, Hutchings and Danreuther 1999, Linklater 1998, Miller 2000, Ohmae 1995, Soysal 1994). Fernández and Faist et al. both critique the idea of ‘postnational citizenship’ (and in the case of the latter ‘postnational membership’) and the perception that the crucial dimensions of citizenship – rights and identity – may be decoupling (Faist et al. 2004:10-12, Fernández 2005:102-105, cf. Soysal 1994). Faist and his colleagues argue that such a position often overlooks the need for the ‘popular legitimization of membership’ if democracy is to function. This research investigates a somewhat different premise from that of the postnational idea; that the relationship between citizenship and national identity is evolving rather than disintegrating.

In his influential text on national identity Anthony Smith writes that ‘conceptually, the nation has come to blend two sets of dimensions, the one civic and territorial, the other ethnic and genealogical, in varying proportions in particular cases’ (Smith, 1991:15). In such a statement the very close linkage between the ethnic-civic dichotomy and that expressed through the categories of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* is plain. One consequence is that it seems reasonable to argue that a movement away from an ethnic conceptualisation of national identity and towards a civic conceptualisation is inevitably to place citizenship, its values, status and lore as central to national identity; that is, to invest national identity with the civic and political characteristics of citizenship.

Nevertheless, it is important to reinforce two caveats. Firstly, that the categorisation of specific citizenship regimes are tempered by the approach to naturalisation and dual citizenship (cf. Weil 2001). Secondly, and relatedly, that both *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* are concerned with birth; therefore, a truly ‘civic conceptualisation’ of national identity requires more than simply a *jus soli* citizenship regime and is reliant on policy approaches to naturalisation and conceptualisations of the national identity-citizenship concatenation itself.³⁵ Thus, Miller makes a normative case for a civic, inclusive conception of national identity

³⁵ Indeed Kymlicka states that ‘what distinguishes ‘civic’ nations from ‘ethnic’ nations is not the absence of any cultural component to national identity, but rather the fact that anyone can integrate into the common culture’ (Kymlicka 1995:24).

and citizenship which, in a sense, could be seen as an appeal for the mutual interfusion of the two concepts (Miller 2000). Faist suggests the idea of *jus domicili* as a useful term that can be used to supplement the categories of *sanguinis* and *solis* (Faist 2000:273). This type of access to citizenship moves beyond questions relating to birth; and while *jus domicili* still focuses – like *jus soli* – on the territory of the state the prerequisite is residence rather than birth as a membership principle (Cf. Sicakkan 2008:5 and Bauböck 1994:32-35).

Thinking about nationhood as at the core of ideas of political identity ties to two of the basic propositions made about citizenship above. Firstly, that citizenship is understood as political membership and secondly that the way in which the boundaries of this political membership are conceived is shaped by citizenship's relationship with national identity and importantly, what content is given to the two concepts. In exploring how identities are constructed in citizenship policy it is useful to theoretically understand the role of boundaries in identity formation and sustainment. Boundaries demarcate a split between us and them; they allow us to identify 'others'.

Substantial work has been carried out in investigating the processes of identity and boundary construction (Armstrong 1982, Reicher and Hopkins 2001, Barth 1969, Donnan & Wilson 1999) and the role of the 'other' (Neumann 1999, Hedetoft 1995, Stråth 2000, cf. Taylor 1992). Identities are argued to exist relationally and the content that is understood to give meaning to 'national identity' or 'citizenship' is contested and changing. This is not to suggest that national identities are not 'real', they exist in individuals' daily perceptions and definitions of themselves and they give structure to and delineate institutions. Boundaries are not seen as fixing content, but they play a central role in 'making real' the existence and recognition of the identity or membership group. Indeed, in his classic formulation Barth argues that the survival and continuity of a group 'depends on the maintenance of a boundary [...] that defines the group' and 'canalizes social life' (Barth 1969: 14-15). Barth argues that boundaries endure in spite of an osmotic quality that allows for the passing of individuals (and, one might add, ideas and norms) through them

(Ibid: 21). In the context of this research this raises the issue of how increasing migration and cultural diversity can transform rather than obliterate understandings of the boundaries of membership and ideas about the content of citizenship.

In a useful review of theoretical approaches in identity studies Kinnvall notes that it is important to move beyond the debate as to whether identities are ‘natural categories’ or ‘instrumental constructions’³⁶ and understand identity as a relational process (Kinnvall 2003:12). The idea of identity as relational and evolving within a complex context is important in appreciating the way in which identity constructions are understood. For Neumann, the ‘delineation of a self from an other is an *active* and ongoing part of identity formation’ (Neumann 1999:35, italics in original) while Triandafyllidou contends that ‘the existence of ‘others’ [is] inherent in national identity’ (Triandafyllidou 1998:595). This is true both of national identity and citizenship and as discussed in depth above, one clearly influences the other. Fernández notes that in the development of national citizenship ‘the modern citizen appeared in an ‘oppositional relationship’ to foreigners’ (Fernández 2005:58). Put differently, both nations and states must have boundaries, both physical and conceptual, if they are to exist (cf. Anderson 1996:1-10). Indeed, Donnan and Wilson note how these aspects interplay, asserting that: ‘[state] frontiers provide a range of boundaries which are important to states, including the real and symbolic enclosure of territory and citizenry’ (Donnan & Wilson 1999:57).

The importance of these ideas is twofold. Firstly it provides a way of understanding the operation and perpetuation of identities and the way in which, as such, citizenship and national identity are conceptualised in citizenship policy. Secondly, such theoretical insights act as a reminder that in attempting to understand how citizenship is formulated through its relationship with other key concepts, ever

³⁶ Such analytical divisions are comparable to the primordialist-modernist dichotomy used in theorising about nationalism. The former position expresses sympathy with an essentialist view of the nation as perennial and the latter contends the instrumental appearance of the nation in modern times as a response to and creation of the modern state (cf. Özkirimli 2000, Smith 1998).

evolving thinking about national citizenship's boundaries and its content will be of central importance.

Categorising and Mapping Citizenship

A variety of ideas about and elements of citizenship have been discussed in this chapter. Citizenship is understood as broadly-speaking about membership and the impact and interplay on policy conceptualisations of processes associated with globalisation and changing approaches to naturalisation have been highlighted. Citizenship's conceptual interplay with understandings of belonging, identity and integration has also been assessed. In considering such issues other authors have attempted to construct typologies or analytical schema of differing approaches to citizenship and in closing this chapter it is worth assessing what can be learnt from these. It is useful here to consider three well-known approaches, those of Brubaker, Castles and Miller, and Koopmans and Statham.

In the context of the *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* distinctions discussed above, Brubaker (1990&1992) built on the idea of a civic-ethnic dichotomy in approaches to citizenship and national identity to argue that citizenship reflected ideas of belonging and nationhood. Brubaker argued that citizenship regimes and conceptions of national identity were pretty durable, related as they were to historically specific national contexts. There were thus fundamentally different ways of conceiving of citizenship and different ways of approaching the 'attribution of citizenship by the state' in (his case countries of) France and Germany (Brubaker 1992:80). A civic-cultural form in France based on place of birth or relatively easy naturalisation was contrasted with an ethnic-cultural form in Germany based on blood-line and restricted access. As Brubaker put it then: 'French citizenship law automatically transforms most second- and third-generation immigrants into citizens; German citizenship law allows immigrants and their descendents to remain foreigners indefinitely' (Ibid:81).³⁷ The discussion – primarily then around the principles of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* – is nuanced in

³⁷ While not the focus of this text, it should be noted that French and particularly German citizenship law has evolved since Brubaker wrote his text.

Brubaker's work; nevertheless, the use of a civic-ethnic distinction as a way of thinking about how citizenship is linked to belonging has become widespread in a somewhat more simplistic way. This can result in differences being discussed in a rather two-dimensional sense as being about whether emphasis in discussions of citizenship, or policy itself, is laid either on ethnicity or elsewhere - (birth within a territory, rights or residence). The distinction becomes whether emphasis is laid on ethnicity *or not* and all else becomes a 'civic' conception of citizenship. Such a simplification risks missing the importance of widely varying approaches to pluralism and societal diversity. This is what Koopmans and Statham call 'the cultural rights dimension'; assessment of the scale of 'obligations' individual citizens have to the cultural norms and expectations of a given society (Koopmans and Statham 2000(a):19). Access to citizenship might be relatively easy but this could still go along with assimilationist assumptions about a reified – albeit civic - national identity and culture.

Castles and Miller attempted to tackle this difficulty by providing a three-category typology for assessing citizenship regimes. Noting that these are ideal types rather than clear cut categories they name these as 'differential exclusionary', 'assimilationist' and 'multicultural' (Castles & Miller 2003:249ff). The first of these, 'differential exclusionary', is based on an ethnic understanding of belonging and an unwillingness 'to accept immigrants and their children as members of the nation' (Ibid:249). Non-natives are different, foreign and strange. It suggests restrictive naturalisation and a discourse of national membership that is unwilling to recognise immigration. Castles and Miller argue that in such a model, 'immigrants become ethnic minorities' (Ibid:250), they are dissimilar and odd and they are categorised as different. The second ideal category, 'assimilationist', provides for comparably easy naturalisation but functions alongside integration policies which place expectations on immigrants and emphasise 'group cohesion' and a gradual cultural absorption through a 'one-sided process of adaptation' (Ibid). The objective of such a regime is the incorporation and assimilation of outsiders into both nation and state. Castles and Miller's third ideal type, 'multicultural' (or 'pluralist'), describes a system where relatively easy acquisition of citizenship sits

alongside an emphasis on equal rights for immigrants and respect for difference (Ibid:251). The authors note that ‘usually [there is] an expectation of conformity to certain key values’. This, however, is in conjunction with the idea of reciprocal integration and of citizenship as a sense of belonging to civic society, which in turn gives membership to both state and nation.

Castles and Miller’s typology is a useful frame for identifying the characteristics of approaches to and understandings of citizenship. However, as Koopmans and Statham have argued, such a typology approach is limited as it doesn’t successfully illustrate ‘the dynamic aspects of the process of migrant integration’ or ‘exhaust the logical possibilities’ (Koopmans & Statham 2000(a):20). Instead they suggest the need to ‘conceive of citizenship [...] as a conceptual (and political) space’ which they delineate by ‘two dimensions of citizenship’. They provide a model for plotting conceptualisations of citizenship along two axes. Firstly, they place Brubaker’s classic division and the idea of an ethnic-civic dichotomy along the vertical axis. The authors are careful to emphasise that the axis is a continuum and that the extremes (a state that completely prohibited naturalisation, or a state that didn’t attribute citizenship at all on the basis of descent) would be very unusual. This vertical axis defines ‘the formal criteria of access’ and the way in which the political community is conceptualised. It could also be viewed as a way of plotting how characteristics of membership are thought about. Secondly, they argue the need to map an assimilationist-multicultural dichotomy, ‘defining the cultural obligations which [...] citizenship entails’ along the horizontal axis (Ibid:19-21). This then is a continuum that runs:

‘From conceptions of citizenship that insist on conformity to a single cultural model that is to be shared by all citizens, to culturally pluralist conceptions, which seek to retain, or even stimulate cultural heterogeneity and allow their subjects to follow a variety of cultural patterns’ (Ibid:20-21).

Koopmans and Statham thus suggest that one can plot the ‘formal and cultural dimensions of citizenship’ on the graph illustrated below.

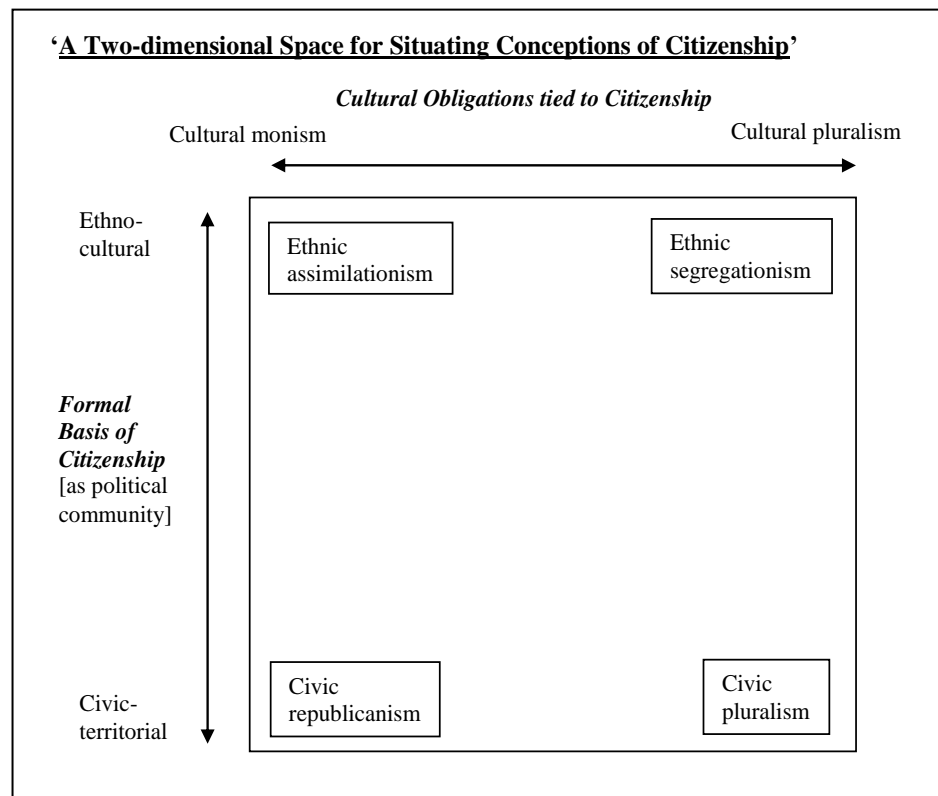


Figure 2. A two-dimensional space for situating conceptions of citizenship.

(Koopmans & Statham 2000(a):21)

As the authors themselves recognise, the extremes of the four corners are ideal types which are unlikely to occur in a pure form in reality. They should not be understood as fixed states but rather as identifying the tone of processes or thinking that concerns citizenship. Nevertheless, the advantage of Koopmans and Statham's model is that for any given approach to citizenship it allows for both an analysis of the interplay and complexity of understandings *and* the possibility of attempting to locate the approach:

'Thus conceptualized, the stability of citizenship regimes, and the uniformity with which they cover different political actors, policies, and immigrant groups become issues for empirical investigation, not implicit assumptions tied to the rigidity of a conceptual typology' (Ibid:20).

As discussed, the aim of this research is to empirically research the conceptualisations of citizenship found in policy and in the thinking of policy-makers. The model offered by Koopmans and Statham is appealing in its recognition of the dynamism and intricacy of ideas about citizenship and naturalisation and the way it allows these ideas to be plotted in relation to each other and ideal types rather than being definitively categorised.

Their model highlights, for example, the impact that broad acceptance of dual citizenship would have on the locating of a 'citizenship regime'. Generous openness to dual or multiple citizenship would be intolerable to 'ethnic assimilationism' where 'conditional naturalization remains the single option for becoming a member of the community' and the new citizen's ties to the original country should be given up. A state taking such an approach would be positioning itself towards the 'multicultural, civic-pluralist' corner (Ibid:24). Interestingly also they contend that 'ethnic segregationism' can be understood as 'the point of departure in the process from migration to settlement' (Ibid:22). They note that the meeting point between 'ethnic segregationism' and 'civic pluralism' may be different discourses of legitimisation, the former (as in guestworker programmes) focused on assisting 'migrants' eventual return', the later emphasising arguments about the benefits of diversity and multiculturalism. This thin line is also seen as highlighting the risk of 'civic pluralism' approaches which emphasise differentiation sliding 'in practice into a form of ethnic segregationism' as socioeconomic policy and efforts at cultural tolerance become confused (Ibid:22-23ff.).

Koopmans and Statham distinguish themselves in offering the idea of a conceptual space, but nevertheless, their 'ideal types' are inevitably strongly similar to the other categorisations discussed above (as they themselves recognise). Despite this, it is important to note that Koopmans and Statham do not give any systematic definition of the ideal types. Rather they prefer to talk around them in terms of policy moves in different directions (Ibid:21ff). This is an admirable position and can be understood as recognising the ideal types as necessarily blurred and

unsuitable to absolute definition. The exception is their ‘ethnic segregationism’ which is unambiguously ‘defined by exclusion from the political community of migrant newcomers who do not share the ethno-cultural background of the majority society’ (Ibid:22). This plainly overlaps with Castles and Miller’s characterisation of ‘differential exclusion’ as an unwillingness to accept outsiders. ‘Civic republicanism’ and ‘civic pluralism’, not so specifically defined by Koopmans and Statham, are similarly very close to Castles and Miller’s ‘assimilationist’ and ‘multicultural/pluralist’ models respectively. The former ideal type is exemplified by obligations for migrants and the latter as an emphasis on equal rights without these demands (Ibid:28, 22-24).

Likewise, Koopmans and Statham acknowledge Brubaker in discussing their vertical axis and the way it is used to map whether civic-territorial or ethno-cultural understandings constitute the idea of the political community – what they call the ‘formal basis of citizenship’. This chapter has considered the complicated interplay of ideas about citizenship and identity and interestingly in Borevi’s work (Borevi 2002:31-33) she suggests a slight modification of the model arguing that Koopman and Statham’s ‘criteria of access’ to citizenship and the political community is comparable to what she describes as ‘understandings of national identity’ - similarly stretching from an ethno-cultural principle to a civic (or territorial) principle. Such an assumption clearly flags the links between conceptualisations of citizenship and understandings of national identity. However, appreciation of this can actually be seen as already implicit in Koopmans and Statham’s acknowledgment of Brubaker’s point, as they paraphrase it, that ‘citizenship is seen not only as a form of membership, but also as a specific cultural imprint of nationhood’ (Koopmans & Statham 2000(a):19).

The one position not yet discussed is Koopmans and Statham’s ‘ethnic assimilationism’. This is the ‘logical possibility’ they find missing in the tripartite categorisation of Castles and Miller.³⁸ In yet, as the authors themselves recognise,

³⁸ Interestingly, in a different chapter of the same book, Koopmans and Statham actually fall back on ‘three ideal-type citizenship regimes’. These they call the ‘ethnocultural exclusionist’, the ‘civic

this position appears contradictory, indeed paradoxical. They defend such a position as possible on the basis that ethnicity is a constructed concept (Ibid:46). Although undoubtedly the case, this recognition does not however challenge the way the concept is understood and used as exclusionary. Indeed the entire dichotomous relationship with ‘civic’ stands on the basis of this conceptual characteristic. The civic position is understood as (more) inclusive *because* ethnicity is deemed irrelevant. Equally, assimilation is a process focused on those who are initially recognised as different. At least in policy terms, it needs to focus on civic ideas and ideals – rights and behaviour – as attainable content and characteristics that can be acquired by those wishing to naturalise.³⁹ An ethno-cultural foundation to political community combined with a cultural fundamentalism that ‘insist[s] on conformity to a single cultural model that is to be shared by all citizens’ (Ibid:20), that is, the top left corner in Koopmans and Statham’s model, would be better described as a position of ‘ethnic isolationism’. This is the corner of the model, the awkward ideal type, where migrant incorporation does not take place; or at least, is not a policy objective.

This does not detract from the overall value of Koopmans and Statham’s contribution of a conceptual space for mapping understandings of citizenship. It does however suggest that a minor tweaking of the model is worthwhile and this is shown below. The terminology of Castles and Miller and Koopmans and Statham is combined in the bottom left corner as ‘civic assimilationism’⁴⁰ and, as discussed, ‘ethnic isolationism’ is placed in the top left corner.

assimilationist’ and the ‘multicultural pluralist’ and they can be seen as broadly similar to Castles and Miller’s typology (Koopmans & Statham 2000(b):196). In this chapter Koopmans and Statham do not (rather oddly) use their conceptual space model.

³⁹ This is not to suggest that ethnicity is fixed indefinitely. Plainly ideas of ethnicity can change across generations, in the categories constructed by census organisers, and in the understandings of individuals. However, as a policy process connected to citizenship and aimed at incorporating migrants to the political community ‘ethnic assimilationism’ is difficult to imagine.

⁴⁰ As noted in the footnote above ‘civic assimilationist’ is actually used by Koopmans and Statham themselves elsewhere in the same text where they present the ‘conceptual space’ model.

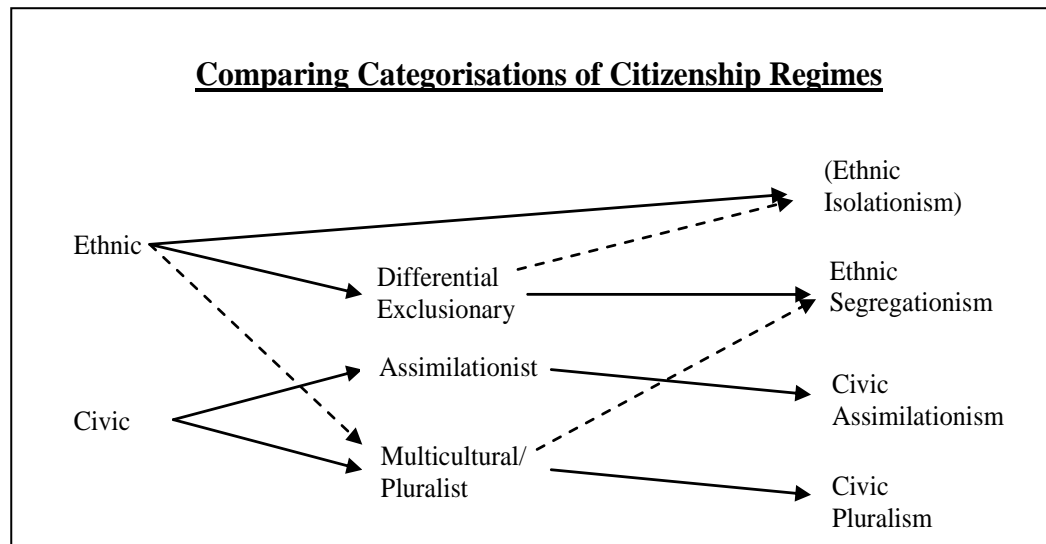


Figure 4. Comparing categorisations of citizenship regimes.

In closing the discussion it is suitable to return to the original understandings of citizenship considered in the early part of this chapter. How does the view of citizenship as being about ‘status’ and ‘content’ fit, for example, into Koopman and Statham’s (slightly adjusted) model? Citizenship’s characteristic as a status was earlier discussed and understood as the idea of membership and/or the consequence of processes of identity configuration and recognition. Borevi’s recognition of the way in which the vertical axis’s concern with citizenship’s formal basis also alludes to understandings of identity can be concurred with. Such features of citizenship can be seen as principally influencing the placement of citizenship conceptions on the political community dimension, the vertical axis of Koopman and Statham’s model. The vertical axis then may be envisaged as about plotting an answer to ‘how belonging is understood?’ in interplay with citizenship. Views of citizenship as a membership status that in principle is accessible to all regardless of ethnicity or place of birth would suggest a strong civic conceptualisation. The belief for example, that national identities can evolve and state recognition of the possibility of changing senses of belonging would clearly signal a civic notion of political community. In reflecting on Koopman and Statham’s model such issues would of course inform where conceptualisations of citizenship would be plotted along their vertical axis.

Citizenship's concern with content – in terms of rights and duties, practices, behaviour and identity – can be seen to relate to Koopman and Statham's horizontal axis, the 'cultural dimension of citizenship'. Interestingly it can also be seen as a marker for approaches to integration and as about plotting an answer to 'how society is understood?' and the impact this has on thinking about citizenship. A belief, for example, that it was a duty of citizenship to speak a particular language, behave in a certain way and identify exclusively with the country of citizenship would indicate a view of citizenship leaning towards a cultural monist position on the model. Alternatively, the conviction that national loyalties and identification can be complex, multi-dimensional and shared, or the belief that non-indigenous cultural practices can be accepted, or even publicly supported within the framework of the nation-state would support the plotting of such an understanding of citizenship towards the cultural pluralist conception.

Koopmans and Statham's (slightly) adapted model is returned to in Chapter 9 where the idea of a 'conceptual space' for illustrating ideas about citizenship is used as a way to summarise and make some general points about the findings presented in that chapter. There it proves useful as an impetus and encouragement to contemplation and as a way of gaining friction in the closing and comparative analysis. It is important and appropriate here to reemphasise that this thesis does not aim to *test* these models or the utility of these categories. As the following chapter lays out in more detail an objective in carrying out the research was that the conceptualisations of the cases should not to be categorised in terms of pre-conceived typologies or ideal types. The aim of the assessment and analysis of the empirical chapters was to 'follow the material' in identifying conceptualisations of citizenship in the UK and Sweden. This is what is done in Chapters 4-7. Nevertheless, as was made clear above, the objective of *this* chapter in its review and conceptual discussion has been to provide a reflective framework and complement for the deliberation and analysis that follow. The categorisations, typologies and models considered here serve (and have served) as useful stimuli and issues for contemplation in the discussion of that material. They do not however, lead the discussion.

In Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the conceptual themes that are viewed as underpinning understandings of citizenship. Reflection on these themes and how they are discussed in the literature has laid the ground for engaging with the empirical material that follows. The chapter has shown how the central theoretical understanding of citizenship in the thesis is as a bounded membership status; and considered how the substance of citizenship is conceptualised in the form of, for example, rights and duties, ideas of identity, perceived virtues or political values. It has also argued that policy thinking about naturalisation and dual citizenship provides a fruitful area of study in drawing attention to ways in which the content and boundaries of citizenship are conceptualised.

The chapter has been unambiguous in asserting the premise that understandings of ‘national citizenship’ are evolving and that the context influencing this process is the increasing migration and cultural and ethnic diversity which takes place as part of the wider development understood as globalisation. In discussing the ideational contextualisation of citizenship the chapter has also demonstrated how the study is framed by a conceptual and theoretical recognition of the interconnection of citizenship with thinking about (national) identity and integration. For example, it considered how Marshall’s early argument of citizenship’s ‘integrating effect’ has continued with Favell contending that the ‘idea of citizenship’ is often seen an important part of the solution to ‘ethnic dilemmas’ or the contemporary challenge of societal cohesion. It was also noted how the conceptual relationship between citizenship and national identity mirrors the complexity of that between the state and the nation; and thus how ideas of ‘national citizenship’ inevitably imitate understandings of and ways of distinguishing the nation and state.

Lastly, the chapter assessed distinct approaches that have been used in attempting to map citizenship and its meaning. It noted the limitations of a simple civic/ethnic split in categorising citizenship regimes and showed, in line with Koopmans and Statham’s model, the benefit of assessing citizenship within a conceptual space that

recognises the role of both formal and cultural – status-related and content-related - aspects in mapping conceptualisations of citizenship.

Chapter 3. Design and Methodology

Explaining Research Choices and Processes

Carrying out the Research

The design of this research is qualitative and interpretive. This is a result of the character of the issues studied and the questions addressed. While the previous chapter addressed the conceptual framework of the research, the focus of this chapter is to discuss and review the methodological approach and methods utilised in carrying out the research. These are purposefully discussed together in order to highlight how the epistemological and methodological foundations of the research design were both grounded in the nature of the topic to be researched and guide and interlink with the methods employed. The chapter therefore begins by laying out why an interpretivist position was adopted in the work undertaken, explaining why this was epistemologically suited to the study of conceptualisations of citizenship and what advantages it affords. The focus then turns to the practical issues of data collection. The rationale for studying the two cases and the role of comparison is set out, as is the logic behind the selection of sources and the use of elite interviews as a method of gathering primary material. A semi-structured and conversational approach to interviewing policy-makers was utilised and the benefits of this approach in getting at conceptualisations of citizenship is explained. The way in which interviews were planned and carried out is described and the challenges and difficulties encountered in data collection discussed. Lastly, the chapter considers the approach to analysing the data collected. The notion of triangulation in bringing together different materials is discussed as is the challenge this brings to mapping what are complex conceptualisations and ideas. The thesis's analysis is substantially led by the primary material and in letting the data 'talk' in this way there is a sympathy with some of the ideas of grounded theory. The research's approach to coding as an incremental process which underpinned the work's analysis is also considered.

Methodological Assumptions

The research design of the work is qualitative. The strengths and suitability of such an approach are its ability to address issues holistically and consider in a narrative way the context and evolution of social phenomena (cf. Hopkin 2002:261). The approach is appropriate for comparing ‘settings’ or case studies as it encourages depth of study and understanding. This research is not assessing *the practice* of citizenship policy but exploring the *formulations and conceptualisations* of citizenship in policy texts and by policy-makers. Consideration of the research questions shows that they are principally exploratory and concerned with developing understanding (cf. Blaikie 2000:72ff). Strauss and Corbin note that questions in a qualitative study often begin relatively broad and tend ‘to become more refined and specific as the research progresses and as the issues and problems of the area under investigation emerge’ (Strauss & Corbin 1998:53) and this was the case as conceptualisations of citizenship were investigated. The epistemological position underpinning the work is a broadly constructivist stance in sympathy with an interpretivist theoretical perspective.⁴² This means that the research took place within an understanding of social phenomena – such as ‘national identity’ or the meaning of citizenship – as constructed and that ways of comprehending and analysing these phenomena are understood as interpretations. This is not to question the ‘existence’ of national identities or citizenship. Such concepts are clearly powerful ideas that give shape and character to individuals’ efforts to comprehend both themselves and societal institutions around them, and aid attempts to categorise and understand. However, the content, meaning and interpretation of phenomena like ‘citizenship’, ‘identity’ or ‘belonging’ are both contested and in a continual process of ongoing change.

The research carried out sought to understand the way in which conceptualisations of citizenship and the relationship between national identity, integration and citizenship are understood in materials expressing and enunciating citizenship

⁴² Plainly there is not space in this discussion to take up every possible conceptual term for the position adopted but it is worth noting that some sympathy certainly lies with the insights of what Blaikie terms ‘abduction’ (Blaikie 2000:114ff.). An approach described appositely by Alvesson and Sköldberg as meaning ‘in simple terms [...] the ability to see patterns, to reveal deep structures’ (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000:17).

policy. The interpretive emphasis that one cannot understand human behaviour or human affairs without understanding the meanings that are both constituted in these practices and act as a driving force for them was thus apposite. Little has noted that ‘the central goal of social inquiry is the interpretation of meaningful human practices’ (Little 1991:68) while Bevir and Rhodes argue that the idea of ‘meanings’ can be construed as covering a variety of human methods of expression; noting, for example: ‘reason, intentions [and] beliefs’ (Bever & Rhodes 2002:131). The focus then of an interpretive approach is to attempt to understand how these meanings are formed, expressed and themselves interpreted. It is important to stress that this does not mean that the research becomes dryly descriptive, a simple recording of the understandings found in the textual material and interview data. On the contrary, the sense in which an interpretive approach is understood here is both as a sympathy to the complexity and contextual nature of the phenomena being studied *and* as a rigorous engaged analysis and interpretation of those understandings uncovered through the empirical work undertaken.

An interpretive approach suited the research undertaken because it recognises complexity in social action. It both acknowledges that the meanings of actions and the content of understandings will be contested and allows for a way to study such meanings and contents. Lineal causality is challenged in favour of studying interplay and relationships; and awareness of the inseparability and interaction of structure and agency leads to a focus on process. For the study of social concepts and identities this is beneficial. It draws focus from conundrums like ‘Whether a particular social identity ‘really exists?’ or ‘How the strength of social identity felt by individuals can be measured?’ to questions like ‘What is the interaction between the content of beliefs and behaviour?’, ‘How does this interaction operate?’ and ‘What processes cause it to change?’. In his article arguing the centrality of ideas about identity formation and re-formation processes to political science, Rogers Smith supports such an approach. For him we need to ‘rely more [...] on approaches that provide empathetic interpretive understandings of human consciousness and values, and on identification of historical and contextual differences in identities and values’ (Smith 2004:42). He goes on to argue that this

places methods like ‘in-depth interviewing, textual interpretation and the like’ as central to the research enterprise (Ibid:43).

Reicher and Hopkins provide an example of previous work adopting such an approach. Having interviewed a substantial number of party politicians in their study of constructions of national identity, they highlight the way in which identity operates as a contested category. They show how the meaning of (in their study principally) ‘Scottishness’ is rigorously contested both at a party political level and interrelatedly through individual constructions. Interpreting the patterns of meaning understood by actors is central to the work of this thesis in trying to get at the ways in which conceptualisations provide an ideational foundation for citizenship regimes. As Reicher and Hopkins assert, arguments about the meaning of identity or other contested societal concepts are not ‘matters of truth and lies but of interpretation and emphasis’ (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001:20). In dealing then with the complexity of social identities as a process of contested meanings interpretive theory offers a way to advance understanding and concurrently suggest explanations, not as watertight proofs but as insights that improve comprehension.

The Cases and the Role of Comparison

It was noted above that an interpretive approach is suitable for the in-depth study of specific settings or cases. This research has studied expressions of citizenship policy relating to naturalisation in Sweden and the UK in order to understand the role, impact and contextualisation of conceptualisations of citizenship in that policy. As long-established West-European democracies which are responding to the pressures associated with globalisation outlined above, these cases are viewed as broadly similar settings. If the idiom of comparative methodologies were used then the choice of cases here is closer to the idea of a ‘most similar systems’ design (Peters 1998:37-43). As stable, developed, democratic, welfare-states Sweden and the UK are largely similar in a global context and facing comparable pressures. Within this broad type these cases could be seen as intriguing examples of how developed first world states are responding to their relatively new position as countries of immigration. Peters states that an ‘honourable strand of comparative

political analysis is to select a small number of instances of a process or an institution that appear similar (or at least appear ‘comparable’) in some important ways and then use those instances to illuminate the nature of either the process or the institution itself” (Ibid:13). During the period studied both the UK and Sweden introduced new legislation dealing with the regulation of citizenship and its relation to migration, integration and cultural diversity. Both countries have experienced increasing immigration, ethnic and cultural pluralism and uptake of naturalisation. As this PhD research began it was hypothesised that within these broadly similar contexts both were responding in particular ways to the challenges this has created as a result of different historical, political and indeed conceptual traditions. The decision to carry out two in-depth case-studies and an analysis of two settings supported a more rigorous exploration of the ideas that emerged in each. In studying two cases that face similar adaptive pressures the work was able to explore how each did this in terms of their use of the repertoire of citizenship characteristics and norms available and the way in which citizenship’s boundaries and content are understood.

Thus, the underlying logic of the research is the study of two settings of significant and specific interest which act as cases-studies of the way in which citizenship policy was being reconfigured during the period studied; and how this relates to conceptualisations of citizenship, national identity, integration and so forth. Although both Sweden and the UK are seen as worthy of scrutiny on their own merits, the benefits of studying the two cases concomitantly in stimulating reflection, insight and contextualisation through comparison have been intrinsically positive to the research. Assessing both concurrently provoked a need to think through the particular characteristics of each case; or as Peters puts it: ‘force greater specificity on the researcher’ (Peters 1998:4). As Hopkin writes: ‘comparison brings a sense of perspective [...] observation of the ways in which political problems are addressed in different contexts provides valuable opportunities for policy learning and exposure to new ideas and perspectives’ (Hopkin 2002:249. cf. Bechhofer & Paterson 2000:3-9).

Comprehension of the two distinct settings has hopefully been more perceptive as a result of studying both - through the encouragement this provided for contemplation of differences, similarities and the reasons for them. This has stimulated analysis, ideas and understandings that would not have been present in the study of only one case and ultimately this brings rigour to the study in the way expressed by Peters above. Or as Oakley sardonically writes in expressing her support for the intrinsic worth of comparison: 'The best way to derive unwarranted conclusions about [...] human beings in general is to omit the other [...] the best way to prove that something works is to omit a comparison situation' (Oakley 2000:50). This study has employed what Peters calls 'configurative comparison'; the use of a small number of cases contextualised through 'deep' and detailed understanding (Peters 1998:6). As Hopkin notes, qualitative comparative analysis can be used with the aim of understanding 'the particularities and specificities of individual cases, rather than to establish generalisations applicable across large numbers of cases' (Hopkin 2002:263). As is made clear in Chapter 8 this is very much the way in which comparison has been used in the research presented here.

Text-Based Primary Data: Selection and Delimitation

Of substantial importance to this research was the gathering of primary materials. The process of selecting the type of documents and texts which have been utilised is discussed here before going on to detail the way in which new primary data was collected through interviewing.

It is important to describe what is meant by 'citizenship policy materials' or 'articulations and expressions of citizenship policy' as the objects of enquiry in this research have been described above. The type of materials selected as sources are official documents and texts, produced by the state, which explain and articulate citizenship policy. It is within this material that conceptualisations of the meaning of 'citizenship' and its contextualisation and relationship with other ideas and concepts were sought. And it is through analysis of the material that the research endeavoured to grasp the terms in which these concepts were understood. Therefore a variety of material was relevant to the study, stretching from UK

parliamentary legislation and White Papers, Swedish Laws, Propositions and ‘Inquiries’;⁴³ through strategy and discussion documents; to welcome and informational material on national citizenship and citizenship policy generally in the form of official leaflets and brochures for new citizens, residents and applicants. These materials are recognised as dynamic, their role and interpretations of their meaning could evolve over time and in response to the key actors involved. Appreciating this further accentuates the need for elite interviews with policy-makers as a way of triangulating the thesis’s analysis and findings and this issue is returned to below.

Within each case there are, of course, crucial documents that shaped the changes relating to citizenship and naturalisation within the periods studied. In the respective cases these include for example the UK’s 2002 White Paper *Secure Border, Safe Haven*, which led to the citizenship test’s introduction in November 2005; or Sweden’s 1999 Public Enquiry *Swedish Citizenship* which laid the ground for the introduction of dual and multiple citizenship in 2001. Around such vital documentation sits a broader base of material that responds to, reflects on or builds upon the ideas or policy changes set out. Discussion of this material is a substantial task of Chapters 4 and 6 in assessing the development of policy around citizenship and these chapters outline in detail the major documentary sources. One addition point should be made with regard to material selection. Other materials contain, of course, relevant information for this study (for example: parliamentary speeches and debates; newspaper columns, interviews and letters; NGO publications and statements) and these were inevitably used as background in developing knowledge of the cases. Nevertheless, they did not form part of the core material that was systematically assessed. The aim of the study was to investigate and analyse conceptualisations of citizenship in articulations of citizenship policy and by policy-makers. Therefore, in terms of written material, state-produced documents, where the content is both calculated and official, provided the core.

⁴³ Swedish government inquiries are roughly equivalent to UK White Papers in the sense that they explore and discuss in depth a particular issue and put forward proposals for future legislation.

Lastly, it should be noted that given the freedom of information frameworks of both states, and the fact that I can fluently speak and read Swedish, no serious problems were encountered in accessing the material. Indeed a fair amount of the material can be directly accessed via the internet.⁴⁴

Self-Collected Primary Data: Elite Interviews

In addition to using the text-based primary data outlined above the core material utilised in the analyses of this thesis comes from self-collected primary data gathered through interviews with relevant policy-makers. In designing the research the objective of using interviews can be described as both knowledge-gathering and knowledge-testing. Material from interviews with key informants provides the backbone to the discussions and analysis of conceptualisations of citizenship that are the subject of this research. In addition interviews deepened knowledge about the topic and allowed the testing of ideas developed through earlier interviews or the study of primary and secondary texts. ‘Policy-makers’ are here defined as those involved in drafting, being consulted upon or overseeing the implementation of the policy. Thus ‘policy-makers’ were principally politicians (ministers) or civil servants, but also included committee or commission members with careers in academia, non-governmental organisations or other institutions who had been selected because of their experience in relevant areas. All interviewees had therefore been involved in the drafting of policy itself and/or documents expressing that policy or had directly and officially advised on policy as committee members. A full list and description of the policy-makers interviewed in this research can be found in Appendices 1 and 2 at the end of the thesis.

As the selected method for gathering self-collected primary data in this research, the logic of interviewing, its benefits and possible problems are discussed in depth here. The discussion first focuses on the value of interviewing and reflects on the type of approach taken. Ways of getting at interviewees’ conceptualisations of

⁴⁴ Both governments’ internet resources are extensive and material can be accessed from a variety of sites. Amongst the most useful are, for example, the UK’s Border Agency (previously the Immigration and Nationality Directorate) (<http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk>) and the Swedish Government’s publications database (<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/108>).

citizenship are then examined before issues relating to access and the number of interviewees are taken up. Lastly, the questions of transcription and anonymity are briefly considered.

Why Interviews?

In the lexicon of social science methods the approach used here is that of in-depth, semi-structured, elite interviews. Such an approach can be seen to offer some substantial advantages. In attempting to research what Petersson refers to as identity's 'changeability, multi-dimensionality and contextual nature' (Petersson 2003:36) interviews allow exploration of subtle, difficult and complex issues. Reicher and Hopkins were referred to above and elite interviews have been used by others as a method in studying developments in thinking about citizenship and/or identity. Feldblum wrote of their ability to 'capture the prevalent discourses' (Feldblum 1999:17) and Kiwan of how one gains access to 'the interviewee's thoughts, feelings and values' (Kiwan 2008:4). Petersson has argued that they provide researchers with the most useful method of getting close to interviewees' ideas and conceptualisations through allowing interviewees to express them (Petersson 2003:39-43).

It can be argued that elites are likely to be well educated and reflective and are thus well suited to the in-depth, semi-structured interviewing that has been used in this research (cf. Marshall and Rossman 1995:83-84). The interviewees' professional positions mean that they are both central to and likely to have a developed insight into, and holistic view of, the processes which were the focus of this work. Harrison notes the advantages of interviews over surveys or questionnaires in the type of interpretive research that has been carried out here. She contends that interviews allow the exploration of meaning and avoid the potential skew and lack of balance – 'the power to define what was relevant and what was irrelevant' - that may appear in the fixed questions and specific topics of a questionnaire (Harrison 2001:90). The objective of the research, as outlined above, was to understand how conceptualisations of citizenship are contextualised and interplay with other key concepts in contemporary citizenship policy. As such, the way in which these

concepts are understood by policy-makers in the process of making and interpreting policy are central and interviews were seen as suitable for exploring the sort of subtle and complex issues that surround ideas about citizenship, naturalisation and belonging. Interviews were then used to attempt to get at and identify the types of perceptions and understandings held by those involved. It is worth re-emphasising that the aim in carrying out interviews was two-fold. Firstly, they provided primary data on the way in which conceptualisations of citizenship (and identity, integration, diversity and such like) were understood by policy-makers to play a role in citizenship policy. Secondly, of course, this data also instructed, illuminated and interplayed with the analysis of other primary and secondary sources.

How? The approach to interviewing elites

Interviews were based on an open interview schedule which acted as a checklist of points to be covered, albeit not necessarily in any particular order; what Harrison calls an *aide-mémoire* (Harrison 2001:92). As a semi-structured interview, open-ended questions and probing were used to encourage a conversational interaction where the interviewee was able to elaborate and clarify their points (cf. Devine 2002:198).

Preparation of the interviews was clearly important. Marshall and Rossman have argued that a solid knowledge of the topic to be discussed is particularly beneficial in interviewing elites (Marshall & Rossman 1995:83-84). They contend that savvy, open-ended questions allow interviewees 'the freedom to use their knowledge and imagination' (Ibid.) and such thinking was taken into account in preparing the research interviews. Minimalising the need for interviewees to explain background facts allowed as much time as possible for them to expand upon and explore the substantive issues of interest.

In carrying out the research the arguments were thus strong for the framework of interviews to have been clearly informed by prior familiarisation with the themes in order to be able to ask policy-makers relevant, perhaps even provocative questions

which encouraged an expansive and engaged response. Nevertheless, despite recognising the advantages of this method the approach in the study was also informed by a parallel recognition that it was necessary to reflect carefully on how to use prior knowledge and how strongly prior understandings or points about contentious issues should be put forward. Finding the right balance was seen to be important and overly aggressive probing or questioning that could risk dominating the interview was avoided. The objective of the interviews was to stimulate and allow policy-makers to develop their own train of thought and highlight what *they* saw as crucial. Thus in planning and carrying out the interviews the aim was to show sensitivity in attempting to correctly pitch how firm and audacious the questions should be, particularly since in talking to policy-makers the interviewees were discussing something that they themselves have a substantial stake in. Questions were posed in a non-confrontational way and not structured simply as ‘why *x*?’. Formulation was more along the lines of ‘could you tell me about: (a) your discussions around...? (b) the way in which you’ve thought about...?’ or comments were constructed without a questioning tone ‘I was reading about/I thought this was interesting’ in order to allow interviewees to interject and develop their thinking on their own terms. Similarly, leading questions or remarks were avoided as far as possible although it was recognised that engagement was important in order to at times kindle the interviewee’s train of thought. This meant that it was sometimes useful to cite from documents or work that they had been involved in or to refer to comments of others (sometimes other interviewees) with whom they were familiar. In reflecting on the interview approach the advantages of small talk were also recognised. This could help to lower the sense of formality and make a ‘connection’ which helped to mildly blur the roles of questioning interviewer and respondent. Lastly, the benefits of silence were also recognised. A ‘count-up-to-three’ rule was applied after the first handful of interviews in order to make sure that an interviewee taking a pause for thought could continue without an unnecessary interruption from an overly eager interviewer.

The conversational characteristic to the semi-structured interviews used in this research is hopefully apparent in these reflections and Marshall and Rossman note

descriptions of in-depth interviews as ‘conversations with a purpose’ (Marshall & Rossman 1995:80). Similarly Dvora Yanow writes of conducting ‘conversational interviews with key actors [...] in which the analyst’s provisional assumptions [...] can be corroborated or refuted’ (Yanow 2000:31). For Chirban an ‘interactive-relational approach’ allows a personal engagement with the interviewee and an exchange of ‘ideas, beliefs and feelings’ (Chirban 1996:xiii) while for Petersson the flexibility of a semi-structured approach ‘is conducive to the shaping of a more conversation-like interview [and] better inter-personal relationship’ which aids in ‘eliciting sincere evaluations and statements from the respondents’ (Petersson 2001:36). The approach to interviewing used in the research was then sympathetic to these ideas. As an elite group the policy-makers interviewed in this work can be described in general terms as intelligent, opinionated, sensitive and articulate. The design and tone – the method - of the interviews was based on the belief that thoughtful, engaged interaction with the interviewees would encourage them to open up more fully and elaborate their thoughts more profoundly. The material produced has provided a very rich and substantial source of information for this research.

What? Getting at Conceptualisations

Given the focus of the research the principal challenge in designing an interview schedule was the ability of the questions to get at conceptualisations of citizenship, the role they played and the way in which they were understood in policy relating to naturalisation and citizenship. It was noted above that part of the gap that this research looks to fill is an understanding of policy-makers conceptualisations and as such there is a limited literature that has used directly comparable methods in focusing on similar themes. In his study of the US, Germany and the UK, Joppke used interviews with policy-makers and advisers to deepen his ‘feel for country-specific problematiques’ (Joppke 1999(b):viii) but he rarely cites these interviews directly, stating in the book’s preface that they rather provided him with the confidence to write about the issues and develop the arguments of his text. Feldblum does utilise the data from her interviews (although a substantial number of these are with non-governmental and immigrant organisations) but doesn’t

discuss her methodology (Feldblum 1999). However, in researching what he describes as ‘national self-images in Russia’ Petersson’s work does provide an interesting precedent in thinking about how conceptualisations related to belonging can be researched. In carrying out his work Petersson explicitly tried ‘to assess to what extent a new sense of national identity emerged in Russia’ during the turbulent 1990s (Petersson 2001:1).

Petersson recognised that his research would not delineate or discover one image or understanding of identity but rather deals with a variety of perceptions that may be ‘shared by groups’ and even ‘broad categories’ but not by all (Ibid:17-18). This insight was again important in the research carried out here in thinking about facilitating opportunities for interviewees to express themselves. Petersson argued that broad themes within a flexible interview schedule were the most suitable approach in talking about perceptions of identity (Ibid:20ff). As he noted, identities and conceptualisations ‘cannot be squeezed into narrow boxes and compartments’ but in approaching them some ‘broad dimensions’ must be deployed (Ibid:20-21). Comparably, the research presented here did not aim to discover an absolute, unambiguous understanding of how citizenship is being conceptualised and contextualised within UK and Swedish citizenship policy. This would have misrepresented the dynamic nature of the process. In carrying out the work it was understood that the interviewee material would contain numerous subtleties and many distinct, perhaps sometimes even contradictory positions and the conversational framework of the interviews aimed to allow these subtleties to be expressed. However, this does not detract from the way in which patterns of understanding can be seen to have emerged from the textual and transcript analysis as reasonably authoritative conceptualisations.

Who and how many? Selection and Access to Interviewees

In designing the research policy-makers were identified as the target group for interviews. By definition this then created a small and limited group of potential interviewees who either had had or were having direct influence on the development of policy and the ways in which citizenship was understood within

that policy. The PhD work began in autumn 2005 and from early 2006 contact was sought with potential interviewees on the basis of the work they were recognised to have carried out in the policy process. The first interviews were conducted in the spring of 2006 with Professor Elizabeth Meehan (member of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI)) and Professor Sir Bernard Crick (Chairman of the 'Life in the UK' Advisory Group and of ABNI, and principal author of *The New and the Old*). These initial interviews provided experience of the interview procedure and allowed reflection on the tone and focus.

The rest of the interviews were carried out throughout 2007 and early 2008. Thirty-four elite interviews were conducted in total, nineteen in the Swedish case and fifteen in the UK case. As noted above, an advantage of the semi-structured interviewing technique used in this research is the flexibility inherent in allowing as much as possible to be gained from each individual interview (albeit that this is dependent on the adaptive skills of the interviewer!). Throughout the period in which interviews were performed a process of evaluation and reflection on the interview technique was carried out. Inevitably latter interviews were informed by those that had already been completed in order to continue fine-tuning the approach and support reflection on how to gain as much as possible from the remaining interviewees (cf. Burnham et al. 2004:217).

A reasonably large number of potential interviewees could be directly identified from the primary material itself. Governmental ministers responsible for the legislation and members of official advisory boards and commissions were names which were in the public domain. As noted, Meehan and Crick were the first interviews carried out, both of whom were made accessible through academic contacts. These interviews opened up access to other committee members in the ABNI and the 'Life in the UK' advisory group and began the common 'snowball process' of interviewing, helping to identify individuals of potential interest and providing support for making contact with them. Marshall and Rossman note the problem of access that is presented in elite interviewing (Marshall & Rossman 1995:83) and suggest 'sponsorship, recommendations, and introductions' as ways

of helping to make appointments. These strategies were certainly employed in this research and in the UK case the interview with Crick in particular helped to open doors, not least to David Blunkett, the Home Secretary who had been a driving force behind the development of citizenship policy and who held ultimate responsibility for the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* and the work of the 'Life in the UK' Advisory Group.

A similar process took place in the Swedish case and a period of fieldwork in the spring and summer of 2007 focused principally on gathering the interview data (albeit that a handful of interviews were held outside this period). Academic contacts again opened some doors, although there was a higher degree of success from direct contact in comparison with the UK and a relatively lower reliance on the need for recommendations or connections. Although not systematically and empirically analysed, it also seemed that being a foreign researcher showing an interest in the Swedish case was a positive attribute in gaining an interview!

Nevertheless, the organisation of elite interviews in both cases must be described as a laborious process. Initial contact via email or by letter often received no response. Follow-up emails, letters, or telephone calls to personal assistants or secretaries then needed to be dealt with sensitively, finding a necessary balance which pushed for the interview without being exaggeratedly assertive. An encouraging exchange of communications often led to little more than information about the potential interviewee's incredibly full schedule, sometimes asserted to be full months in advance and these months passed before starting the process again. Such experiences made clear the importance of persistence and for some prospective interviews up to three or four 'initial requests' could be sent. As a result the lead time on interviews could be lengthy; seven months for example in the case of Ulrica Messing (the Swedish ex-Minister of Integration). Strategies were developed to encourage success and the aforementioned name-dropping of previous interviewees or contacts was refined and supplemented by the mentioning of both friends and intellectual rivals. Flattery's timeworn function in reducing the chances of rejection was also understood. Although disingenuity was avoided, an

emphasis on the perspective interviewee's 'important role' was seen to pay some dividends. In addition time was sometimes taken to research the broader context of an individual's work position and what possible – and alternative - contact routes there might be to them.

There were also occasions when an alternative possibility presented itself where written communication had not yet succeeded. The arrangement to interview David Blunkett was made in person with him after a public speech and after negotiating the way past bodyguards, a minder and a personal assistant. Tobias Billström, Sweden's Minister for Migration (and the Moderate party's spokesperson on integration issues) was somewhat less shielded and was similarly approached in person at a conference. Unfortunately this contact did not lead to an interview.

Inevitably there were a number of potential interviewees approached who did not agree to be interviewed. In the UK case Trevor Phillips, Chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, was fairly rigorously pursued. His name was mentioned by other interviewees and he was recognised to have had some influence on the thinking of some government members. Attempts to suggest possible meeting times were however never successful. In the Swedish case the potential interviewee most keenly sought was Mona Sahlin, who took over as Swedish Minister for Integration following Ulrika Messing (and held the post until Jens Orback took over). However, her election to party leader for the Social Democrats following their 2006 electoral defeat made time for such a research interview on this topic almost impossible despite what at one point seemed a promising email exchange with a personal assistant! In addition to hoped-for interviews that did not transpire there were also a handful of situations where arranged interviews were cancelled due to sudden pressing commitments and unfortunately a suitable alternative time was never found. Circumstances could also change rapidly, requiring a certain flexibility. One interviewee cancelled but later offered to carry out the interview by phone. A further interviewee cancelled a meeting at the UK Home Office but agreed to meet in a hotel bar and a third interviewee was determined that the interview would take place outside in a quiet, but blustery

garden which necessitated some ad hoc shielding of the dictaphone - if the interviewees words were not to be literally lost to the wind.

Reasons for refusal to be interviewed may have been related to the pressures of time, but may conceivably have also been due to a lack of willingness to participate in the research. This, of course, is not something one can do more than sense in the tone of written exchanges. However, what can be known with greater certainty is that there was some tentativeness in the response of some of the UK respondents. Although peripheral in terms of the focus of the research it was interesting to note that this cautiousness distinguished the cases from one another. In the Swedish interviews the names of those involved in discussions around policy were never withheld but in the UK case a number of interviewees were hesitant in speaking fully. A handful made comments 'off the record' and there was some reluctance to name civil servants that had been extensively involved in the policy process. In the case of one senior Home Office official, and although he agreed to be interviewed, there was an unwillingness to be named or for the interview to be recorded.⁴⁵

As noted, a total of thirty-four interviews were carried out and the numbers in each case, fifteen and nineteen respectively in the UK and Sweden, reached a point where further interviews were felt to be increasingly producing diminishing marginal returns. It was recognised early that the target group of interviewees was a limited, select group of individuals and that many of them knew and influenced each another. It was common for interviewees to refer to or even cite one another. As Yanow argues, one can recognise a saturation point when new names are rarely turning up and new stories rarely appearing in interviews (Yanow 2000:39) and this was a position that was reached in both cases.

⁴⁵ The referencing of this interviewee as a 'senior Home Office official' was agreed with the individual concerned and provides at least a broad description of the interviewee's role (cf. Harrison 2001:93).

Further Issues: Recording, Transcription and Length

Harrison states that recording 'is advisable for elite interviews, as it allows you to get the exact wording and distinguish between on- and off-the-record remarks' (Harrison 2001:102). With the exception of the aforementioned interview with the senior Home Office official all interviews were recorded and there was no antagonism in relation to this from interviewees in either case. Perhaps surprisingly, and despite some tentativeness in the UK case noted above, anonymity was not an issue that arose; the professional roles of the interviewees seemingly leading to an acquiescence of recording as a normal part of the process. Harrison notes the benefit of familiarity that transcription brings and argues that it should ideally be done 'while the interview is still fresh' (Ibid.). Following the interviews full transcripts were written up, a process that did indeed prove advantageous to knowledge of the material.

As stated above the approach to interviewing was a semi-structured one in which the objective was to gain as much information as possible from policy-makers and engage them in reflective discussion. As with the series of interviews as a whole, the ideal situation was to reach a point of saturation in the interview where it became clear that the interviewee's ideas had been fully expressed and comments and arguments began to be recognised as recurring. Given the profile of the interviewees, time was often a restricted resource; nevertheless, once an interview was granted they proved to be extremely generous and the majority of interviews lasted between 90-120 minutes.

Understanding and Analysing the Data

This final section raises issues about the nature of the data collected; its necessarily subjective and interpretive shape and how approaching this type of material has required an ongoing incremental analysis and reflection.

In creating taxonomies of different types of interviews the literature at times suggests that the focus of an interview will be on accessing *either* the interviewees' (personal) experience *or* expertise (cf. Millar et al. 1992). In thinking about the data

produced from interviewing policy-makers in this study it seems clear that it reflects *both* experience and expertise. Their expertise on policy, its workings and intentions is plainly of importance. But so also was policy-maker's interpretation of policy around citizenship and their understandings based on experience of engaging intellectually with it. Far from being problematic, acceptance of the way in which (personal) experience and expertise interplay in interviews is what has allowed movement away from simply discussing the dry workings of citizenship policy and towards consideration of the role conceptualisations of citizenship play and analysis and understanding of how they are contextualised in citizenship policy regimes.

Material from the interviews is, of course, not analysed in isolation but in connection with the text-based primary data discussed above. In discussing policy development Chapters 4 and 6 focus principally on the textual material. In analysing conceptualisations Chapters 5 and 7 utilise and emphasise somewhat more the interview data. Nevertheless throughout the empirical chapters and comparative analysis of Chapter 8 both are intertwined. This is in line with the argument of Harrison that data from elite interviews should be 'compared and contrasted with other, external information' (Harrison 2001:102). Major themes identified in analysis of the textual material were provisionally coded and considered in the context of the conceptual framework and this provided an early foundation for analysis of the self-collected material. Coding of the material was very much data led. The broad conceptual areas of Chapter 2 provided a scaffolding for ideas but the coding frame and categories from which the thesis's central thematic clusters emerged were developed incrementally as the research progressed. This was done by hand rather than through any specific software.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Early in the research process programmes such as NUDIST and ENVIVO were considered. However, having attended seminars and explored the possibilities they offered, the advantages of such an approach remained unpersuasive in comparison with a do-it-yourself development of the coding framework. Similarly, Burnham et al. have noted that 'If the research is concerned with the interpretation of meaning as it is constructed by respondents, such an approach [that of the computerised packages] may be too mechanistic' (Burnham et al. 2004:218).

Harrison talks of attempting to map the data into a ‘‘matrix’ or mesh of connections’ and of an evolving process of interconnecting and interpreting the ‘different layers of analysis’ (Ibid:103). The research discussed here has been carried out in sympathy with such a methodical and cumulative approach to assessing the data. Yanow writes of analysing ‘the architecture of meaning’ and this captures nicely the idea of attempting to map insights and patterns that emerge from the data through returning to it throughout the process of analysis (Yanow 2000). A view of the analytical process as ongoing and evolving rather than linear is central to this approach and such a method of continual cross-referencing is consistent with the idea of triangulation, ‘the act of bringing more than one source of data to bear on a single point’ (Marshall and Rossman 1995:144, cf. Burnham et al. 2004:277-278). Such data triangulation through explicitly linking the analysis of the self-collected and textual primary material and the secondary conceptual material has, it is believed, strengthened the robustness and rigour of the work.

Although triangulation brings clear advantages it also creates organisational problems in terms of managing and writing about a significant amount of material. It was decided early that writing about the content of specific types of material in separate sections would be overly repetitive and that the discussion and analysis of the thesis should be constructed thematically. Inevitably, themes and issues often substantially overlap and interlink in numerous ways. Therefore the discussion of one issue in a particular place (perhaps the role of language learning, or discussions about the meaning of ‘diversity’ as ways in which citizenship and integration are conceptually intertwined) unavoidably opens up the analysis at a particular textual point in the thesis and - in avoiding repetition - means that these issues are not discussed in the same depth in relation to another equally connected topic. This has presented a challenge in thinking about how to present and structure the material and its analysis and the attempt to map this ‘architecture of meaning’ and ‘matrix’ of conceptualisations of citizenship was aided through old-fashioned reflection with pen and paper. At different stages in the research process sketches (or ‘mind-maps’) were utilised as a way of specifying distinct themes and the connections between them. In trying to express reality in two dimensions these were inevitably

rather untidy and chaotic but nevertheless very helpful in clarifying thinking and bringing associations to the fore. The illustrations below show two, electronically cleansed (!), examples of maps used in helping to direct the analysis of the cases found in Chapters 4 to 8. These are of course, by their very nature, simplifications and a large number of double-headed arrows, connecting lines and scribbles have been removed.

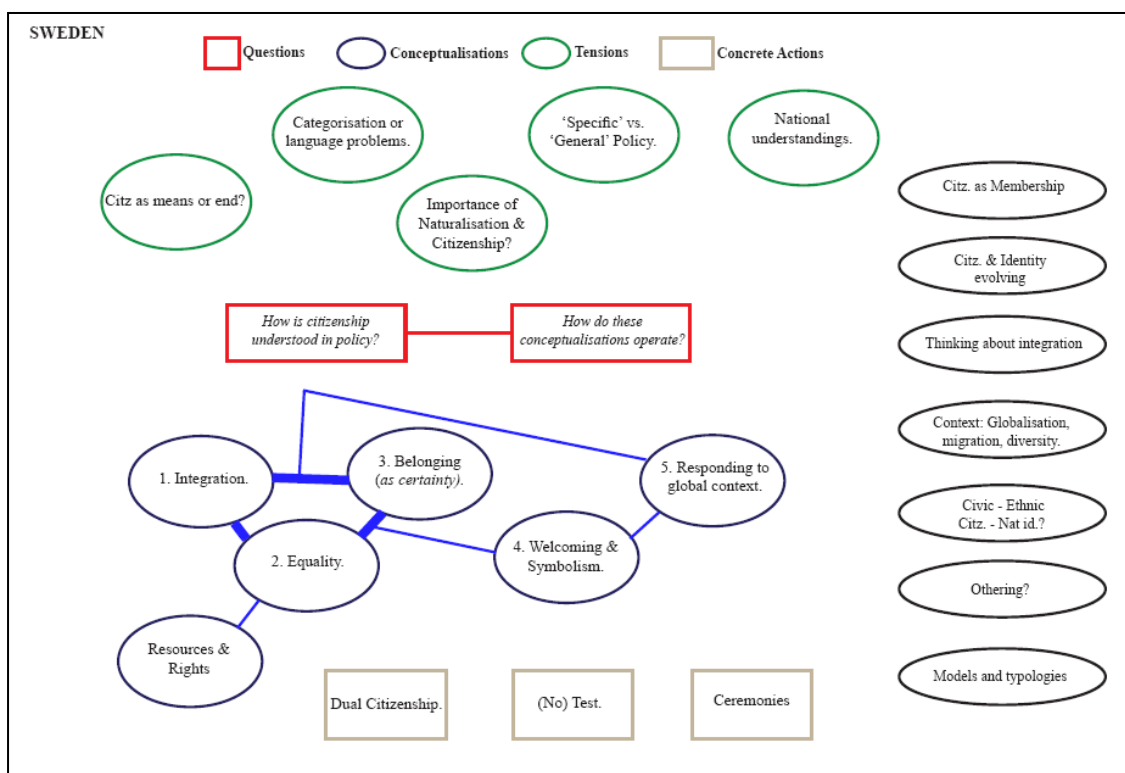


Figure 5. Example of sketch for Swedish Case.

Such attempts to sketch the complexity of the cases helped both in pinpointing particular and crucial details – the absolute centrality of the Swedish ‘trinity’ of conceptualisations around integration, equality and belonging for example - and in illuminating comparable elements, similarities and differences between the cases. Carrying out this process has also helped in finding a balance between the epistemological aims of the research to let the material ‘talk’ reasonably organically in leading the discussion of the cases and the analytical aspiration of achieving an acceptable level of consistency in the structuring of the discussion across the cases.

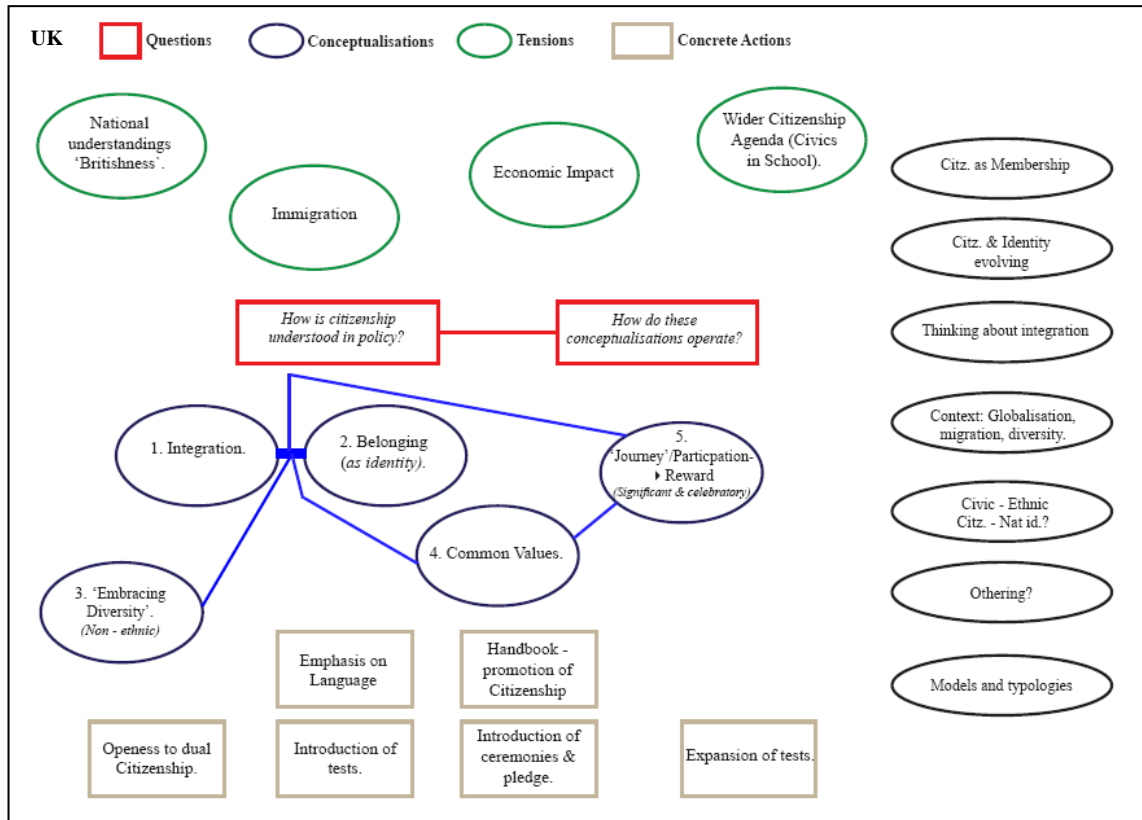


Figure 6. Example of sketch for UK Case.

The insights of a number of overlapping analytical approaches have informed the analysis of primary materials and in designing the work it was clear that it was not the purpose of the research to be categorised or constrained by utilising only one set technique. Areas of commonality with grounded theory are discussed below and the broad analytical foci of content, discourse or textual analysis in a concern for conceptual unmasking and insightful interpretation was also instructive in analysing policy documents and the interview transcripts. Such analytical methods interconnect with the qualitative and interpretivist methodology outlined above. The emphasis on category generation in analysing the data is noted as central by Marshall and Rossman who contend that identification of 'salient themes, recurring ideas or language, and patterns of belief that link people and settings together [...] can integrate the entire endeavor' (Marshall and Rossman 1995:114). Burnham et al. cite Schmidt's definition of discourse as 'whatever policy actors say to each other and to the public in their efforts to generate and legitimise a policy

programme [...it is] a set of policy ideas and values and an interactive process of policy construction and communication' (Burnham et al. 2004:246). Recognition and analysis of such patterns of understanding and constructions of meaning have clearly been of central interest in carrying out this research.

The emphasis of grounded theory encourages a strong use of the empirical material in the analysis and this is in line with the approach that has been utilised here. In discussing how to fashion grounded theory, Marshall and Rossman have highlighted how 'data collection and analysis go hand in hand' and how the 'researcher is guided by initial concepts and guiding hypotheses but shifts or discards them as the data are collected and analyzed' (Marshall & Rossman 1995:112). As Alvesson and Sköldbberg argue: 'Empirical research in a reflective mode [...] can provide an important basis for a generation of knowledge that opens up rather than closes, and furnishes opportunities for understanding rather than establishes 'truths'' (Alvesson & Sköldbberg 2000:5).

Empirical material has been used in the research to conceptualise and comprehend what has taken place around understandings of citizenship during the period studied. The research process has been carried out in sympathy with some of the central tenets of grounded theory. Particularly important has been the notion of data-led analysis where the collection of material and the development of discussion and analysis are concurrent processes. The research has also been carried out in empathy with the belief that analysis should be seen as 'free-flowing and creative' and that 'techniques and procedures are tools only. They are there to assist with analysis but never should drive the analysis in and of themselves' (Strauss & Corbin 1998:58). Equally, as noted above, in coding the material, a relatively free approach was utilised where material was broken down into themes and sub-themes, categories and sub-categories, in an attempt to get at, analyse and understand the way in which citizenship was being conceptualised. Following this dissection these themes and categories have been 'put back together', as highlighted in the illustrations above, in order to identify and demonstrate the analysis of how citizenship has been conceptualised in the UK and Sweden and

what the principal thematic areas are. This method can be seen as similar to the two-stage process outlined by Strauss and Corbin and classified as ‘open coding’ followed by ‘axial coding’ (cf. Blaikie 2000:239-40). As noted above, the interplay of these processes of coding and analysis came together in the writing-up of material and throughout Chapters 4 to 8 the discursive analysis was grounded in an attempt to let the cases ‘speak for themselves’ through both the textual and the interview material.

In Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the design and the methodology of the research presented in this thesis. It has made plain the perceived suitability of a qualitative and interpretive approach in tackling the study of conceptualisations of citizenship, arguing that this encourages depth of study and development of understanding. Such an approach also provides space to focus on meaning and how it is established through the interplay of ideas which, with ‘citizenship’ as its subject, constitutes the objective of this work. The chapter has also examined the role and benefits of comparison within the research. Although the cases have been studied separately and specifically it has been argued that contemplation of two cases provides an enhanced perspective and understanding of each case in itself; and of their respective quirks and particularities.

The chapter has discussed how primary data was selected, with written sources delimited to state-produced official documents. Elite interviews have provided an essential source in conducting this research and a major section of the discussion here considered the centrality of interviews as both ‘knowledge-gathering and knowledge-testing’. The chapter has argued that in-depth interviews – ‘conversations with a purpose’ - provided a crucial way of getting at policy-makers conceptualisations of citizenship and has explained in detail the challenges posed both in organising and conducting the interviews. In keeping with the broader interpretive approach of the work, the tremendous benefit of the interviews is identified as the complex and extremely rich material that they have provided and

which had proven to be an indispensable input to the discussion and analysis of this thesis.

Lastly, the chapter discussed and illustrated the way in which the thesis's central thematic ideas developed incrementally as the research progressed. The research is sensitive to the approach of grounded theory and the idea that 'data collection and analysis go hand in hand'. The chapter has shown how coding 'followed the material' in attempting to map the mesh of connections which gave an ideational context to conceptualisations of citizenship.

It is to the task of empirical analysis and reflective engagement with the material that the thesis now turns in Section II. The first case considered is Sweden.

Section II: Empirical Analysis

Chapter 4. Dual Citizenship for the 21st Century

Policy Development in Sweden

This thesis attempts to understand how citizenship is being conceptualised in policy and by policy-makers and how these conceptualisations operate. In order to do this it is clearly necessary to be familiar with the policy itself and this chapter discusses developments that have taken place in and around Swedish citizenship policy in the period from 1994 to 2007. This period is chosen as 1994 marks the beginning of the major reforms to Swedish integration policy which preceded the new citizenship law of 2001. 1994 also marked the return of the Social Democrats to power in Sweden, a position they held until September 2006 when they were replaced in government by a centre-right ‘alliance’. The end of 2007 marks the end of the period studied both as a necessary cut-off point in the timetable of the research and since it allowed assessment of whether the change of government would result in any major change of direction with regard to citizenship policy.

The objective of the chapter therefore is to discuss and assess the principal changes around citizenship policy, consider tensions that exist in the debate, and provide a foundation for the analysis that follows in Chapter 5. Boundaries are perhaps never absolute and hints of analysis appear even here. The material includes documentation from a variety of different sources: governmental propositions, committee and commission reports and informational material. ‘Citizenship policy’, as considered above, is understood as being articulated not only in texts that tackle citizenship directly but additionally within texts and discussions of approaches to integration and immigrants which – at times explicitly and at times more indirectly – consider the role of citizenship, ideas of political community and understandings of belonging. While principally informed by the primary textual material this chapter also utilises insights informed by the research interviews and secondary sources.

The major focus of discussion is the new Swedish citizenship law which was enacted in 2001, altering and updating legislation that had stood since 1950. Radically, dual citizenship was to be explicitly recognised and indeed encouraged as an aid to integration. Residency requirements changed little, with a reduction in the residency requirements for stateless individuals to four years⁴⁷ and a tweaking of the wording concerning the necessity of an applicant to have displayed a 'respectable way of life'⁴⁸. The requirement of two years legal residence for Nordic citizens and five years for non-Nordic citizens remained as before. Further changes were the simplification of the application process for children to gain Swedish citizenship and the extension of the right to a child born to a father holding Swedish citizenship to automatically gain citizenship if born in Sweden (as had already been the case if the child's mother was a Swedish citizen). A Swedish language or societal knowledge requirement were rejected as unnecessary but citizenship ceremonies were given unequivocal support and were to be encouraged and expanded (Regeringens proposition. 1999/2000:147).⁴⁹

The legislation was introduced in the midst of an ongoing public debate about how best to promote the integration of immigrants and minimise segregation or a sense of exclusion. A number of governmental reports had laid the ground through consideration of the impact of increased immigration and diversity on integration and citizenship policies and these can be seen as having set the tone of debate for the period studied. The first of these was the Public Enquiry by the 'Parliamentary Committee on Policy for Immigrants'⁵⁰. Starting their work in 1994 they produced the report 'Sweden, the future and diversity' (SOU 1996:55) on which the resulting 1999 bill was based (Reg. P. 1997/98:16). This work was partially overlapped by another Public Enquiry by the 'Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship'. Working from 1996 their report 'Swedish Citizenship' (SOU 1999:34) was again the basis

⁴⁷ Eight years residency is required for those who cannot prove their identity (Regeringens proposition 1999/2000:147: 50).

⁴⁸ The discussion surrounded the removal of the word 'vandel' to be replaced by 'levnadssätt'. Both translate to 'way of life' in English (Reg. P. 1999/2000:147: 45-47).

⁴⁹ Reference to 'Regeringens proposition' ('Governmental Bill') is shortened to 'Reg. P.' in the rest of this thesis.

⁵⁰ 'Invandrarpolitisk kommittén'.

for the legislation, outlined above, that passed through the Swedish parliament in 2001. (Reg. P. 1999/2000:147). As statements of policy it is these documents that provide the foundation in assessing how citizenship is conceptualised. A number of other reports and enquiries have also played a role in setting or informing the context of policy discussion. These are fairly numerous and will be briefly contextualised when referred to.

Building on the Pillars of Integration: Historical Development and Principal Legislation⁵¹

An evolving approach to integration

In 1999 the Swedish parliament passed the bill ‘Sweden, the future and diversity: from a politics for immigrants to a politics for integration’.⁵² The title of the bill clearly conveyed its aim; to shift the policy agenda from a focus on managing immigration to one more clearly focused on promoting integration. The bill was based on the Public Enquiry’s report of 1996 and the new thinking built on and re-designed the enduring strategy from the mid-1970s which had set the framework for Swedish integration policy. The legislation introduced then had emphasised a core trinity of principles that should, and subsequently did, form the foundation of policy towards immigrants: equality, freedom of choice and partnership.⁵³

The equality principle in the original integration policy stressed non-discrimination in terms of social and economic rights. In addition it extended political rights through the granting of suffrage in local and regional elections to denizens (SOU 1975:15. Spång 2003:42). This egalitarian stance echoed earlier positions. In parallel with the decision to begin regulating immigration, taken in 1968, it was

⁵¹ In this chapter the legislative documents are frequently cited. The translations in this text are the author’s own unless otherwise stated. I have concentrated on capturing the essence of the text and have therefore translated relatively freely. When the translation is more substantial than a word or short phrase (or when it might arguably be contested) the original Swedish text will be given in a footnote.

⁵² ‘Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden. Från ett invandrapolitik till ett integrationspolitik’.

⁵³ SOU 1974:69 *Invandrarutredningen 3. Invandrare och minoriteterna. Huvudbetänkande av invandrarutredningen*. (Stockholm). It’s worthy of note that the ‘three pillars’ outlined are a clear echo of the French revolution’s ‘liberté, égalité, fraternité’. According to Hans-Ingvar Roth those working on the 1996 document only realised this as they left the Commission’s findings with the minister.

stated that ‘immigrants will have the prospect of the same living standards as the indigenous population’⁵⁴ (Reg. P. 1968:142, cited in Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 15). The principal author, Birgitta Ornbrant⁵⁵, spoke in her research interview of being ‘amazed at how forward-looking they [the architects of the 1968 legislation] had been in recognising how society needed to adjust and emphasising even then how the principle of equality was crucially important’. As noted in Chapter 2, some writers claim that the influence of trade unions in encouraging equal rights for immigrants along with the symbolic access to the vote helped to legitimise relatively early the interests of immigrants as a mainstream political issue.⁵⁶ In the 1975 legislation the equality principle was also seen to extend to cultural rights, with it being argued that ‘the objective of equality [also means] that linguistic minorities should be able to access information, education and cultural resources that are equivalent to what the societal majority enjoy’⁵⁷ (SOU 1974:69: 94. Cited in Borevi 2002:90). The importance of equality as a cornerstone objective in any policy aimed at or impacting upon immigrants is borne out in the emphasis it received in the research interviews and this is returned to in depth in the next chapter.

Just as the ‘equality principle’ had drawn attention to immigrants’ cultural rights, the principle of freedom of choice outlined in 1975 had a similarly identifiable multiculturalist tone. Roth⁵⁸ noted in the research interview that this multiculturalist stance meant immigrants being encouraged to determine for

⁵⁴ ‘invandrare skall ha möjlighet att leva på samma standardnivå som den inhemska befolkningen.’

⁵⁵ Birgitta Ornbrant, the civil servant responsible for writing the 1997 proposition for integration policy. She has also worked as Head of Research at The Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket). Currently a special adviser to the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. All the interviewees in both cases are listed in the appendices. When each interviewee is mentioned for the first time a brief biography is given in a footnote.

⁵⁶ Although Ornbrant was rather more sceptical about the role of the unions arguing that they had influenced the end of arbetskraftinvandring in the 1970s.

⁵⁷ ‘[i] jämlikhetsmålet ligger även att de språkliga minoriteterna bör få tillgång till information, utbildning och kultur som motsvarar det utbud som kommer majoritetsbefolkningen till del’. Spång briefly discusses the fact that the term ‘minority’ was used in the relevant section of the constitution. He notes that although ‘immigrants and minorities are often discussed separately, this only made partial sense in Sweden because most of those groups that could be considered to be minorities had come as immigrants’ (Spång 2003:43).

⁵⁸ Hans-Ingvar Roth, expert consultant for the ‘Parliamentary Committee on Policy for Immigrants’ that produced the report ‘Sweden, the future and diversity’ (SOU 1996:55) and previously employed at the Department for Integration and Diversity.

themselves to what extent they wished to either integrate with the host society or maintain their own cultural identity. Indeed, this belief was included in the constitution in 1976 where it was made clear that the possibility for minorities to promote their own cultural life should be supported (cf. Spång 2003:43-44). Support was to be provided through the use of mother tongue language teaching in schools, support for ethnically based cultural associations and the provision of information and media in the major immigrant languages (Ibid. 2003:44).

Such measures also supported the final principle, that of ‘partnership’. Immigrant associations were to provide incomers both with an associative base to facilitate development of their (ethnic?) sense of belonging and as interest organisations that could articulate the views and needs of different groups of immigrants in policy discussion and political debate (cf. Spång 2003:44-45). As the 1970s Commission put it, such organisations were seen as central in assisting the objective of ‘mutual tolerance and solidarity between immigrants and the ‘domestic’ population’ (SOU 1974:69: 96).⁵⁹

Mainstreaming ‘integration’ and ‘diversity’ across policy

The remodelling of policy towards immigrants in the late 1990s – ‘from a politics for immigrants to a politics for integration’ – kept these three principles as the basic framework. In 1996 the Parliamentary Committee for Immigrant Policy presented their findings with the argument that ‘the key objective of integration policy is a society where all have the same opportunities, rights and duties’ (SOU 1996:55: 8).⁶⁰ However, contending that Sweden had become a multicultural society and that such a society is ‘not static’ the Committee argued that approaches needed to be updated and ‘diversity should be the obvious starting point for the development of future policy at all levels’⁶¹ (Ibid:9-10). Additionally, they argued

⁵⁹ ‘ömsesidig tolerans och solidaritet mellan invandrare och den inhemska befolkningen.’ For a more detailed analysis of the policy for ‘Immigrants and Minorities’ introduced in the mid-1970s see Borevi 2002:89-98 or Spång 2003:39-45.

⁶⁰ ‘Integrationspolitikens övergripande mål är ett samhälle där alla har lika möjligheter, rättigheter och skyldigheter.’

⁶¹ ‘Mångfalden skall vara en självklar utgångspunkt för den framtida generella politikens utformning på alla nivåer.’

that a societal wide recognition of diversity meant that beyond an ‘introductory period’ (defined as five years) immigrants should not receive special treatment simply on the basis of ‘being immigrants’. They should, like all other members of society receive help on the basis of need, with the aim being ‘an integrated society where all are treated equally regardless of origin or background’⁶² (Ibid:10). In the research interviews Johansson⁶³ argued that two interlocking ideas underpinned the new legislation. Firstly, that ‘general’ – that is, all – policy should recognise society’s diversity and secondly that integration should be ‘reciprocal’.

The bill produced by the Social Democratic government the following year emphasised the same view and argued that with over 10% of the 1996 population already being foreign-born the aim of policy should be to support a ‘societal [national] community with society’s diversity as the foundation’⁶⁴ (Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 21). In the Proposition laying out the new integration strategy ‘diversity’ (‘mångfald’) was self-consciously used as a term instead of ‘multicultural’ (‘mångkultur’) since ‘multicultural’ was ‘loaded with numerous and differing meanings’⁶⁵ (Ibid:19). Diversity, and by extension the idea of integration, was to be at the heart of ‘general’ policy. Specific measures for immigrants as a group were to be limited to only when ‘their status as an immigrant is a more relevant starting point than their other circumstances or characteristics’⁶⁶ (Ibid:20). Since, the government argued, it was the ‘general’ policy and political structure

⁶² ‘[...] ett integrerat samhälle där alla behandlas likvärdigt oavsett ursprung och bakgrund.’

⁶³ Lars Johansson, head (since 1996) of the Division for Immigrant Integration and Diversity within the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. Johansson was also a member of the Parliamentary Committee on Immigrant Policy which produced the report ‘Sweden, diversity and the future’ in 1996.

⁶⁴ ‘en samhällsgemenskap med samhällets mångfald som grund’. ‘Samhällsgemenskap’ provides a challenge for translation. Literally it means a ‘societal community’ and although used above this sounds clumsy in English. ‘Samhället’ in Swedish is a synonym of both society (a ‘member of society’) and community (the ‘village community’) while ‘gemenskap’ can likewise be translated as community, but also as ‘group’. Arguably the translation of ‘samhällsgemenskap’ could be better rendered as ‘the society of people within the state’s borders’ or even, ‘the national community’ but the first of these seems too long-winded while the latter might seem a rather enterprising translation given my subject matter!

⁶⁵ ‘laddats med så många och olika innebörder’. Ornbrant noted that this decision to use ‘diversity’ instead of ‘multicultural(ism)’ was a rather arbitrary decision on the part of the then Minister for Integration, Leif Blomberg (who died suddenly in 1998). According to Ornbrant he saw the word ‘multicultural’ as too difficult and linked to controversy.

⁶⁶ ‘[...] när invandrarskapet är en mer relevant utgångspunkt för åtgärder än andra förhållanden.’

that had the greatest impact on an individual's situation 'it should consequently be [the individual's] need in itself, rather than their status as an immigrant that is the reason for [special] measures'⁶⁷ (Ibid).⁶⁸

It is suitable to observe here that discussion and use of the term 'generella politiken' is widespread in the Swedish material and is difficult to satisfactorily translate. It suggests the idea of the entire legislative burden of the state, meaning simultaneously 'all policy' and 'policy that affects all'. In the documents and data assessed here it is normally discussed in contrast to 'specific' or 'differentiated'⁶⁹ measures or policy focused on a particular group within society (in this case, immigrants). In this text, the term has, according to context, been translated as 'general policy', 'all policy' or 'wider policy'.⁷⁰

Some other interesting ideas emerged in the Proposition with 'diversity' being very broadly defined as including ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious aspects. Interestingly, the idea of 'diversity' was also seen as recognition of modern transnationalist lifestyles with the argument that it 'refers to all the experiences the country's inhabitants have, including those acquired beyond Sweden's borders'⁷¹. (Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 19). The Committee also argued that if certain hindrances to integration were avoided – external pressure, segregation and discrimination - then integration of newcomers into society could normally be expected to take place fairly smoothly within a couple of generations (Ibid:18).

⁶⁷ 'Det bör således normalt vara behovet i sig, och inte invandrarskapet, som motiverar åtgärderna.'

⁶⁸ It is worth noting that a parallel and supportive aim of this emphasis was to separate questions of migration and integration. This was highlighted by Bernström and Johansson in the research interviews.

⁶⁹ 'säråtgärder'.

⁷⁰ The pervasive use of the term arguably indicates the way in which Swedish policy – and political action - is more clearly acknowledged to be about attempting to steer the overall direction of society rather than about simply managing problems that evolve. This differs from position in the UK where there is little sense of a body of policy that steers society in a recognisable direction (it may be so, but it isn't discussed as so). It could also perhaps be maintained that it is distinct from 'mainstreaming' as the central objective of mainstreaming is to make a particular issue or approach part of the nitty-gritty of other policy while 'general policy' suggests a more strategic overview of the direction of society'.

⁷¹ 'syfta på alla de livserfarenheter som landets invånare har, av vilka somliga är förvärvade utanför Sveriges gränser.'

Although the new policy position described itself as building on the trinity of principles (equality, freedom of choice and partnership) laid out more than two decades earlier, the government maintained that more needed to be done in integrating these objectives into wider policy. It was principally the ‘pillar’ of ‘freedom of choice’ that was seen as having caused difficulties. In his interview Johansson stated that during the work of the Parliamentary Committee on policy for immigrants, ‘equality’ was never questioned and ‘partnership’ was now to be more about reciprocity’. It was the idea of ‘freedom of choice’ which caused uncertainty with ‘discussion principally about where its boundaries should lie’. The legislative proposition argued that the 1975 policy’s anti-assimilationist line created the route to a multicultural society where ‘the goal of cultural freedom of choice has created both expectations of particular policies for ethnic groups and been seen as a threat to Swedishness’⁷² (Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 18). The point here is that the principle of ‘freedom of choice’ could be interpreted as having acted as an obstruction to immigrant integration. This, in turn, arguably had a knock on effect on citizenship as ‘freedom of choice’ played up the right to retain an ‘ethnic’ identity. As will be discussed below it was the sense of one’s identity that was also seen to be holding down naturalisation rates. It was felt that before dual citizenship became permissible people were simply unwilling to give up their original citizenship.

The thrust of the new bill then was to overcome these difficulties and misconceptions by reemphasising the need for the principles to be at the heart of the general policy framework. The idea was that differentiated policy in the past had worked against the integration of individuals and a broader sense of societal cohesion. As such the bill also recognised the interplay with the work of the Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship (which had just started its work) and the importance of citizenship for the ‘process of integration’; noting that although in international comparisons it was reasonably easy to gain Swedish citizenship immigrants often didn’t apply for ‘emotional reasons’ (Ibid:43). This awareness of

⁷² ‘Målet om kulturell valfrihet har dels skapat förväntningar på en särskild politik för etniska grupper, dels setts som ett hot mot svenskheten.’

how the need to give up one's previous citizenship impacted upon the propensity to naturalise was central for the work of the 1990s Citizenship Committee and impacted upon the reforms put forward. It is to these that the chapter now turns.

The Pathway to Dual Citizenship - Internationalisation and Diversity

In the theoretical discussion above the importance of attitudes to dual citizenship were noted as central to approaches to naturalisation. The policy stance on citizenship acquisition lies of course at the heart of this research as it signifies understandings of what citizenship should mean and where its boundaries should lie. Historically the law on Swedish citizenship stated that in principle dual citizenship should be avoided and in the mid-1980s a Parliamentary Enquiry had rejected the idea of dual citizenship. However, by the late-1990s the topic reappeared in the work of the Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship and the proposal to permit it gained cross-party support. In his research interview Hermansson⁷³ stated that the general idea was that 'it would be made easier to gain Swedish citizenship' and that legislation was to be as 'open and generous in permitting citizenship' as possible. There were 'not to be any obstructions that could not be well-motivated'. Along with the points noted above about easier access to citizenship for children, removal of the regulations against dual citizenship formed the central proposal of their 1999 report. In following the recommendations of the Committee the Social Democratic government of the time argued that the regulations against dual citizenship were both impractical and ill-suited in the context of modern society. In the bill outlining the case for change the government noted that despite the proscription against dual citizenship it was estimated that there were already approximately 300,000 Swedish residents of that status (Reg. P. 1999/2000:147: 17ff.). In the research interview with Olauson⁷⁴, she recalled that this context allowed a strong case to be made on the basis of the promotion of integration, the removal of uncertainty for migrants and simple

⁷³ Gunnar Hermansson, Director and (at time of interview) assistant head of the Division for Immigrant Integration and Diversity within the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. Hermansson has responsibility for and leads on citizenship issues.

⁷⁴ Britt Olauson, Chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship from 1996-1999 which produced the report 'Swedish Citizenship'.

‘common sense’. The Minister of Integration at the time, Ulrica Messing⁷⁵, played up the legislation as modern and necessary in the time of globalisation. ‘It was about marking our openness, curiosity...and daring to embrace those possibilities [of globalisation]’. In February 2001 the law on citizenship was re-written and dual citizenship became legal.⁷⁶

A changing society

The idea of a rapidly evolving society and the themes of migration, internationalisation and diversity were central in contextualising the case for new legislation and the need to open up to dual citizenship. In outlining the case for the changes regarding dual citizenship which were to be implemented in the 2001 law, the Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship argued that there had been a transformation in society both nationally and internationally since the 1950 law was written. Chapter 2 outlined the way in which the impact of globalisation processes are identified by numerous authors as central in stimulating fresh thinking on citizenship. This can certainly be recognised in the Swedish case and the line of reasoning used for justifying new citizenship legislation. Specifying increased immigration and emigration as central to the need to revise the law on citizenship the Committee stated that: ‘society, since the establishment of the citizenship law [in 1950], has internationalised in a way that was that was scarcely possible to predict then’⁷⁷ (SOU 1999:34: 9). Migration both in and out of the country, student exchange programmes and families where the members hold a variety of citizenships had become more and more common. The Committee contended that the pace and strength of internationalisation was undeniable with the number of foreign citizens resident in Sweden more than quadrupling since the

⁷⁵ Ulrica Messing, Minister for Integration from 1998-2000. In post at the time the new citizenship legislation was presented to the Swedish Parliament.

⁷⁶ The law was passed on the 21st of February 2001 with 233 votes for, 69 against and 3 abstentions. The only dissent came from representatives of the Moderate party, albeit that during the actual work of the Committee opposition to the approval of dual citizenship had also come from the Liberals (Folkpartiet).

⁷⁷ ‘[...] samhället sedan tidpunkten för MedbL:s tillkomst har internationaliserats på ett sätt som knappast var möjligt att förutse då.’

original legislation and the number of foreign-born residents multiplying by five⁷⁸ (Ibid:9-10).

Migration had also been accentuated strongly in the new integration legislation discussed above. In a section entitled 'The changed Sweden' the Proposition had emphasised fluctuating but generally increasing levels of immigration with recent decades seeing 30-50,000 immigrants arriving annually.⁷⁹ (Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 9). The government carried forward these arguments in the citizenship legislation asserting that the increased mobility of individuals was central to the need for a change in the law (Reg. P. 1999/2000: 147: 16). These points about internationalisation also supported a further contextual argument in favour of reworking the legislation on citizenship. The idea that there had been a change in the dynamics of identity with 'people in ever increasing numbers feeling a real and deep connection to more than one country'⁸⁰ (SOU 1999:34: 202) was articulated by the Committee and this was an argument strongly made by Ulrica Messing. This sort of transnationalist tone is recurrent in the material and is discussed in further detail in the analysis of the next chapter.

In the research interviews Hammar⁸¹ argued that the recognition of an increasing internationalism also aided the parallel recognition of the large number of Swedish residents who were already *de facto* dual citizens. This led, he contended, to the issue of citizenship gradually shifting from being viewed as a straightforward administrative issue to being understood as a political issue. This was an argument supported in the comments of Olauson who stated that it was very much a political

⁷⁸ The numbers cited are 123,500 residents holding foreign citizenship in 1950, raising to 522,000 in 1997; and c.200,000 'foreign born' residents in 1950 rising to 954,000 in 1997. The latest figures available, from 2008, show 562,000 residents holding foreign citizenship of a total foreign born population of 1,28 million. See

www.scb.se/statistik/publikationer/BE0101_2008A01_BR_00_BE0109TAB.pdf

⁷⁹ Interestingly the Proposition also, and uncritically, points out that 'Since 1972 non-Nordic labour immigration has more or less ceased while the arrival [immigration] of refugees and family members of migrants has increased'. 'Från år 1972 har den utomnordiska arbetskraftsinvandringen praktiskt tagit upphört, samtidigt som flyktinginvandringen och anhöriginvandringen har ökat.'

⁸⁰ '[...] människor i allt högre utsträckning känner verklig och djup anknytning till mer än ett land.'

⁸¹ Tomas Hammar, expert to two major Parliamentary Enquiries during the 1980s, on the question of dual citizenship, and on the 'question of voting rights for foreigners in parliamentary elections'. A long-standing researcher and commentator on 'integration' and citizenship issues.

decision to open up to dual citizenship which was pushed through despite some civil service scepticism.

In general similar points emerged from the research interviews when interviewees articulated their ideas about why changes in approaches to integration and citizenship happened when they did. The most common factor, mentioned by almost all, was that the policy changes were a reaction to the growing multiculturalism and diversity of Swedish society. This resulted in turn, of course, from the increasing migration discussed above.⁸² Olauson said they were responding to a Sweden that was ‘very changed’ as a result of immigration and internationalisation. Hermansson noted that after the Committee started its work dual citizenship rapidly became a central issue as it quickly ‘became clear that the societal position was one of increased immigration where people had cultural links and identities to more than one country’. However, and perhaps with the benefit of hindsight, the historical backdrop of the 1990s was also mentioned by some interviewees as laying the ground for the policy changes. Domestically, a deep recession and the brief yet jarring effect of the entry of an anti-immigrant party to parliament in the 1991 general election were noted by some. More commonly, the cold war’s end, Sweden’s freshly acquired membership of the European Union and the war in Yugoslavia (which lay behind a substantial amount of the early 1990s migration) were all seen as stimulating the sense of a changed international environment.

The case for dual citizenship – practical and emotional

The strength of these factors challenged the historic case that had been made against dual citizenship. In the research interview Hermansson stated that ‘in a globalising world society our starting point was to allow dual citizenship unless there was a good reason not to’. Four problematic issues resulting from dual citizenship had in the past been seen as blocking any movement towards it. These

⁸² Bernström contextualised the need for the new policies as being a response to the way in which migration dominated the agenda in that period. She stated that there had been a growing sense that serious thinking about integration had been sidelined and that there was a need to more clearly differentiate between migration and integration policy.

were: double voting rights, problems with diplomatic support, possible dual military service duties and security issues related to national loyalty. The 1985 Citizenship Commission had considered dual citizenship and although taking a broadly positive view had concluded against any change in the law because of the impact of these issues. In contrast, the 1997 Parliamentary Committee argued that although each of the issues did relate to real problems, when weighed against the democratic and integrative benefits of dual citizenship they were minimal (SOU 1999:34: 204-217). As Hermansson put it, 'we didn't think that they were particularly strong points when balanced against the advantages – namely that one should have an open law where individuals themselves could decide on the bond that they have with other countries'. The Committee drew attention to the large number of individuals who already held dual citizenship and argued that there was little manifestation of any substantial problems as a result (Ibid:214-215). In their bill the government reiterated these arguments and contended that with the evidence showing the impact of the traditional difficulties to be 'relatively limited' they should not be allowed to block a move towards full recognition of dual citizenship (Reg. P. 1999/2000:147: 19-25). The difficulties were argued to be substantially outweighed by the benefits of the move to allow dual citizenship. Principal among these was what might be termed 'broad integration', the easing of individuals lives in both the countries to which they had an attachment.

The Parliamentary Committee noted the advantages of dual citizenship in allowing democratic engagement in both countries and easing travel back and forth with one's country of origin. These benefits were seen as interconnected with and supportive of better integration and the idea of giving stability to an individual's sense of belonging was argued to be central to this.

'Perhaps the most important advantage for the individual is at the emotional level. Giving up one's earlier citizenship is experienced by many as a difficult step to take given everything that it means in terms of identity, tradition and culture etc. Loss of one's citizenship can entail a feeling of having lost a sense of one's origin and part of one's

identity. Such an experience can be felt as a separation from the members of one's family in the country of origin. That holding double citizenship is seen as important for people in the situation is easy to understand [... and] in the long-term the security which comes with retaining one's original citizenship contributes to an increased sense of ease and an accelerated integration into the new society.'⁸³
(SOU 1999:34: 203)

The interplay between national identity and citizenship was discussed above in the conceptual framework and the significance of this interaction was appreciated by the Parliamentary Committee. Attachment to one's original citizenship as part of one's identity was seen to be arguably 'above all, the most important factor in all the interplaying elements that arise with the change of citizenship' (SOU 1999:34: 132)⁸⁴. In the Committee's discussion the sense of an interrelation between belonging and political activity was explicit. In discussing dual citizenship as advantageous in expanding the suffrage for national elections the Committee argued that 'for the individual, such participation can foster integration through an enhanced feeling of belonging in Swedish society and through greater possibilities for actively participating in political life'⁸⁵ (Ibid:213). The recognition of identity as lying at the heart of the issue of citizenship carried through to the informational material produced by the government to inform people of the new possibility of dual citizenship and to encourage them to apply. The title of the leaflet is noteworthy. Called 'Swedes from the whole world. Choosing citizenship in the age

⁸³ 'De allra viktigaste fördelarna för den enskilde ligger kanske dock på det känslomässiga planet. Många upplever det som ett svårt steg att avsäga sig sitt tidigare medborgarskap med allt vad det innefattar i form av identitet, traditioner, kulturarv m.m. För dem kan en förlust av medborgarskapet medföra en känsla av att de tappar sitt ursprung och förlorar något av sin identitet. Det kan också uppfattas som ett skiljande från de anhöriga i hemlandet. Att innehavet av dubbla medborgarskap för dessa människor upplevs som angeläget är lätt att förstå [...] I förlängningen kan även den trygghet som det innebär att ha det gamla medborgarskapet kvar, bidra till ökad trivsel och en snabbare integrering i det nya samhället.'

⁸⁴ 'Identiteten är den allra viktigaste faktorn av alla samspelande faktorer i samband med medborgarskapsbytet'.

⁸⁵ 'För den enskildes del kan en sådan delaktighet befrämja integrationen genom en ökad känsla av samhörighet med det svenska samhället och genom större möjligheter att aktivt delta i det politiska livet'.

of globalisation – facts, ideas and advice’⁸⁶ the pamphlet includes assorted reflections of Swedes, both naturalised and native. Stating that citizenship is about more than just legal regulations the text maintains that ‘citizenship also has an emotional side – where do I belong? Where do I have my roots?’⁸⁷ (Integrationsverket 2002(b): 9) and again, in tying this to integration, it argues that ‘citizenship is also an invitation to get involved in societal life’⁸⁸ (Ibid). The civil servant responsible for the leaflet, Nenad Duborija⁸⁹, stated in interview that the aim was to produce popular material that ‘would promote citizenship, show its advantages...and try to connect citizenship to the process of integration’. In addition to integration a greater equality and sense of equal worth was seen as both an objective and a benefit of the legislative changes. This was often expressed through an emphasis on diversity and this is discussed below. Before that however it is worth noting a minor but symbolic change that also passed in the 2001 Bill.

The legislation removed the granting of exemptions from the naturalisation conditions if the granting of citizenship was seen as being ‘for the benefit of the country’⁹⁰. This is the type of clause which, as in other countries, would in theory allow for the quick naturalisation of, for example, successful athletes or important scientists. The bill brands this as unfair and argues that while the law should recognise the possibility of unusual cases where exemption from some of the regulations may be necessary, this ‘should not be dependent on whether Sweden can gain some advantage from the granting of Swedish citizenship to the individual’⁹¹ (Reg. P. 1999/2000: 147: 48-49). With a similarly egalitarian thrust the bill states that the registered partner of a Swedish citizen should have the same rights as the spouse of a citizen in cases where special dispensation is considered, regardless of the sexuality of the couple (Ibid:48-50). It is noteworthy that when

⁸⁶ ‘Svenskar från hela världen. Val av medborgarskap i globaliseringens tid – fakta, funderingar och råd’.

⁸⁷ ‘Medborgarskap har också en känslomässig sida – var hör jag hemma? Var har jag mina rötter?’

⁸⁸ ‘medborgarskap är också en inbjudan att ta aktiv del i samhällslivet’

⁸⁹ Nenad Duborija, Editor of the citizenship information material published by the Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket).

⁹⁰ ‘Till gagn för landet’.

⁹¹ ‘[...] inte bör vara direkt avhängig om Sverige som land kan ha någon nytta av att personen beviljas svenskt medborgarskap.’

asked about these changes both Olauson and Hermansson spoke of them as being ‘simply fair’ and commonsensical. Yet the language used provides a strong contrast to that used in UK documents and this distinction is returned to in the comparative analysis of Chapter 8. The importance of understandings of diversity and equality in framing the discourse around citizenship in Sweden is returned to in detail in the next chapter.

The increasing diversity of Swedish society was not only referred to as contextual to evolving policy but was seen as at the very core of what policy should be trying to achieve. As noted above, in the Integration Bill of 1997/98 diversity was to be seen as the underpinning reality on which all state policy should be built and this position was re-emphasised by the Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship and in the legislation on citizenship. The Committee argued that ‘society’s ethnic and cultural diversity, including linguistic and religious diversity, should act as a starting point for the formation of policy and its application at all levels of society’⁹² (SOU 1999:34: 305-306). In the research interviews ‘diversity’ was widely seen as the central concept of the early 2000’s. Bernström⁹³ put it most succinctly: ‘Diversity was almost a holy word for a period’. This idea of diversity as fundamentally necessary in the development of policy was seen as a way of overcoming emphasis on differences between immigrant groups and the ‘native’ population. This emphasis in relation to the discussion on dual citizenship is particularly interesting as they bring to mind the argument considered in Chapter 2 (and made particularly by Faist) that dual citizenship and greater pluralist integration policies could perhaps be seen to be replacing earlier more multiculturalist approaches. Such an argument seems persuasive given the Swedish attempts to overcome the challenges associated with the earlier integration policy and its ‘freedom of choice’ principle. As Spång argues, the government’s ambition was that by ‘making diversity into something that should be considered within all

⁹² ‘[...] samhällets etniska och kulturella mångfald, vari även innefattas språklig och religiös mångfald, bör tas som utgångspunkt för den generella politikens utformning och genomförande på alla samhällsnivåer.’

⁹³ Lena Bernström, Director General of the Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket) 2006-2007, Assistant Director 2002-2006, Head of Communications 2000-2002.

policy areas, the divisions between immigrants and native Swedes could be dissolved' (Spång 2003:49).

Ja to Ceremonies; Nej to Citizenship Testing

An important part of the task of the Citizenship Committee was to assess the organisational procedures surrounding Swedish citizenship as part of their discussion on 'measures to strengthen the status of citizenship'⁹⁴. The principal aspects considered were: the provision of information; the possibility of using tests as part of the application procedure; and the role of 'citizenship ceremonies'.

Testing as counter-productive

In the research interviews both Ulrica Messing and Jens Orback⁹⁵ argued that legislation should not be about making it difficult for migrants to naturalise and the bill on citizenship took a clear line in rejecting any language requirement or test of 'knowledge about Swedish society'. Despite talking very positively about language ability as playing an important role in integration the document argues that ability varies from person to person and while 'society can encourage language learning, motivation and knowledge can not be forced'⁹⁶ (Reg. P.1999/2000:147: 61-62). Here the government took their lead from the work of the committee. In notably multicultural tones the committee argued that it is 'desirable for all who are permanent residents in Sweden to understand and speak Swedish to some extent' but felt the need to immediately rebut any possible accusation of national favouritism going on to state that 'to stress the importance of Swedish is according to the government, not in conflict with respect for those who have another native tongue'⁹⁷ (SOU 1999:34: 306). This emphasis on the instrumental, as opposed to intrinsic, value of the Swedish language is also evident in the reasoning about whether or not a language test should be used as part of the application process for citizenship.

⁹⁴ 'Åtgärder för att stärka medborgarskapets status'

⁹⁵ Jens Orback, Minister for Integration 2004-2006.

⁹⁶ 'Samhället kan stimulera språkinläringen, men motivationen och kunskaperna kan inte tvingas fram.'

⁹⁷ 'det (är) önskvärt att alla som är permanent bosatta i Sverige i någon utsträckning kan förstå och tala svenska'; 'Att betona det svenska språkets betydelse står enligt regeringen inte i konflikt med respekten för dem som har ett annat modersmål än svenska.'

The Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship acknowledged and even emphasised the importance of language knowledge for the integration and participation of immigrants. Nevertheless they contended that the different circumstances of individuals made it unfair for a language requirement to be connected to citizenship. Citing (possibly detrimental) ‘circumstances’ as previous education, work/home balance and an individuals workplace they argued that even if exceptions were allowed it is always difficult to cover all eventualities and that ‘a language requirement would hit hardest those with the worst prerequisites for meeting it’⁹⁸ (Ibid:316). The basic tone of this section of the report is that selection and exclusion, is by its very nature, unfair. Additionally the emphasis on personal circumstances as important influences on the likely success of individuals in any language test is seen as unjust since these will ‘vary from immigrant to immigrant for reasons that the individual lacks control over’⁹⁹ (Ibid.).

The Committee argued that the only just position was for society’s starting point to be that ‘all immigrants, of their own free will, do the best in the context of their particular circumstances, in order to gain knowledge in the Swedish language’¹⁰⁰ (Ibid:317). However, rather than this being reinforced by a test of progress (as in the UK case) the Committee argued that *any* test would function against the interests of immigrants and the goal of integration. ‘The Committee see citizenship as a pathway to a sense of belonging and a link in the integration process. A heightened qualification requirement would have the opposite effect, namely that a sense of affinity would be generally diminished in the country’¹⁰¹ (Ibid:318). This framing of naturalisation requirements – or lack of them – in terms of a wider concern for equality and fairness was common in the interviews of those involved in the policy formation and is returned to in the following chapter.

⁹⁸ ‘ett språkrav slår orättvist mot dem som har sämst förutsättningar att uppfylla kravet.’

⁹⁹ ‘variera från invandrare till invandrare och detta av skäl som den enskilde invandraren inte råder över.’

¹⁰⁰ ‘alla invandrare av egen fri vilja gör det bästa utifrån sina respektive förutsättningar för att förvärva kunskaper i svenska språket.’

¹⁰¹ ‘Kommittén ser medborgarskapet som en väg till samhörighet och ett led i integrationsprocessen. Ökade kvalifikationskrav skulle snarast få motsatt effekt, nämligen att samhörigheten totalt sett minskade i landet.’

This issue of a language test being part of the naturalisation process arose powerfully during the 2002 general election. The Liberal Party pushed for it as policy and on the back of this had a very successful election, achieving 13.4% of the vote, with gains principally from their centre-right rivals the Conservatives.¹⁰² However, since the advent of the centre-right coalition government, including a Liberal Party Minister for Integration, Nyamko Sabuni, there has been little movement on the issue.¹⁰³ Interestingly, and with the exception of acknowledging the 2002 debate, the issue of a language test and its relationship to citizenship and integration was infrequently raised by the Swedish research interviewees, albeit that they were willing to discuss the issues when questioned on it. This is particularly striking when contrasted with the central role the issue has played both in the UK discourse and in its policy development.

Expanding information and developing ceremonies

The Committee's report made clear that the conceptual starting point for any informational material should be the diversity of society. In line with such an approach the Committee emphasised that the target group for information should not be narrowly seen as immigrants and prospective citizens but as all residents in the country. The Committee argued that it was important also to increase awareness amongst 'native-born Swedes' about the importance of citizenship. Interestingly, two interconnected threads of thought may be drawn out of this section of the Enquiry. Firstly, that the boundaries of who is seen as Swedish are too limited. Secondly and relatedly, that equal rights are seen as a crucial part of the substance that identifies who *should* be recognised as being within those boundaries. Thus, the Committee state that 'the conception amongst native-born Swedes about who is Swedish is narrow' and go on to argue that 'it's important for integration that Swedish-born citizens are reminded that many individuals who they commonly refer to as immigrants are Swedish citizens and that citizenship means that they

¹⁰² This was a substantial increase on the Liberal Party's 1998 result of 4.7%. In 2006 (and despite continued support for a 'language requirement') they fell back to 7.5%.

¹⁰³ Although the Liberal Party continue to support a language test connected to naturalisation to date the closest the government has come to raising the issue is the introduction of a national final examination for the 'Swedish for Foreigners' (SFI) courses. In addition students are no longer able to study (or receive funding) for more than a suggested maximum of 3 years.

have the same rights and duties as the Swedish-born population'¹⁰⁴ (SOU 1999:34:324).

The role of citizenship ceremonies were also discussed by the Committee and again the need for a strong welcome was emphasised. They stated that participation in ceremonies ought to be voluntary and that it should be recognised that it is an emotional decision not only to give up a citizenship but also to receive a new citizenship. The Committee argued that there was a need to remember that ceremonies can be seen as a marker by society and that it is 'important that new citizens feel that they are a part of the Swedish community and that a feeling of solidarity is developed and strengthened'¹⁰⁵ (Ibid:325). This sort of language is used throughout the section on ceremonies with the idea that they would promote affinity both between new citizens and the Swedish state and between 'native born' and 'new Swedes' being consistently pushed (Ibid:326-328). The Committee were also explicit about their belief in the important symbolism and integrative benefit of ceremonies. They discussed positively their arrangement on Sweden's national day (6th of June) as a way of reminding the rest of society that the 'individuals who participate in ceremonies are not eternally foreigners, but [rather] Swedish citizens'¹⁰⁶ (Ibid.326).

This positive line was held by the government. In the citizenship legislation of 2001 the Social Democratic government took a very positive line on an expanded provision of information about citizenship and on the use of ceremonies to celebrate the gaining of Swedish citizenship. The symbolic and integrative aspect of ceremonies were emphasised with the bill arguing that: 'a foreigner who

¹⁰⁴ 'Föreställningen hos infödda svenskar om vem som är svensk är snäv.' (...) 'Det är viktigt för integrationen att infödda medborgare görs uppmärksamma på att många människor som de i dagligt tal kallar för invandrare är svenska medborgare och att medborgarskapet innebär att de har samma rättigheter och skyldigheter som den infödda befolkningen.'

¹⁰⁵ 'Det är viktigt att nya medborgare känner att de är en del av den svenska gemenskapen och att känslan av samhörighet förstärks.' This is a particularly difficult sentence to translate. 'Gemenskapen' would be literally 'fellowship' or even a 'feeling of community'. Similarly, 'samsörighet' can be emotionally descriptive, 'a *feeling* of solidarity' or 'a *feeling* of belonging' (Cf. Norstedts 1995).

¹⁰⁶ 'de människor som deltar i ceremonierna inte är utlänningar för all framtid utan svenska medborgare.'

becomes a Swedish citizen must be able to feel that he or she is from then on regarded as Swedish and fully accepted by Swedish society. That this happens is very important for the process of integration'¹⁰⁷ (Reg. P. 1999/2000:147: 63). Such a position was echoed in the research interview with Ulrica Messing. She spoke of ceremonies as a way to welcome new citizens and demonstrate the importance of citizenship: 'we wanted to show that it is not only a letter in the post but it is also a celebration and one can feel that now I am part of Swedish society'. Nevertheless, unlike in the UK, citizenship ceremonies have still not been made mandatory in Sweden. Their number has gradually increased since the turn of the century and the issue has been returned to periodically both by the Social Democrats and since 2006 by the Alliance government. In spring 2006 the Social Democrat Integration Minister, Jens Orback, argued for the expansion of ceremonies as an important way of welcoming new citizens and reinforcing a sense of belonging and asked all Swedish councils to report back to the central government on their current arrangements for citizenship ceremonies and their future plans.¹⁰⁸

Post-legislation developments

Since the major citizenship reforms of 2001 there has been no further legislation but in recent years there has been a flurry of governmental enquiries and committees which have once again investigated the broader issue of integration. While none of these have been explicitly about citizenship in its narrower legal sense all of the enquiries have been concerned with the idea of 'belonging' in modern Sweden and have thus to varying degrees conceptualised a meaning of citizenship. Not all of the enquiries have fully completed their work as originally planned. In 2005, Paul Lappalainen presented the report 'The Blue and Yellow Glass House: Structural Discrimination in Sweden'¹⁰⁹ (SOU 2005:56) and the same year the Swedish National Audit Office reported with 'From a politics for

¹⁰⁷ 'En utlänning som blir svensk medborgare måste kunna känna at han eller hon därmed betraktas som svensk och accepteras fullt ut av det svenska samhället. Att så sker har stor betydelse för integrationsprocessen.'

¹⁰⁸ This 'reporting' was still incomplete in late 2007 and the issue has not been prioritised by the Alliance government.

¹⁰⁹ 'Det blågula glashuset – strukturell diskriminering i Sverige.'

immigrants to a politics for immigrants'¹¹⁰. In 2006 Masoud Kamali submitted the concluding report, entitled 'Integration's Black Book'¹¹¹ (SOU 2006:79), of a series of thirteen. Anders Westholm's enquiry on 'Power and Influence in the politics of integration'¹¹², set up in 2000, was disrupted and downgraded in spring 2004 after a dispute and political intervention which led to the setting up of Kamali's enquiry. Similarly, the Parliamentary Committee on Integration Policy led by Leif Magnusson was brought to an abrupt end six months before reporting following the arrival of the Alliance government. Much of the public and policy debate around integration in recent years has been in reference to one or the other of these enquires and leading figures in all of them have been subjects of research interviews.

As noted, none of the enquiries has led to legislation. Nonetheless, they have played an important part in influencing policy thinking around integration and by extension citizenship. The most important shift has been the introduction and widespread use of the term 'structural discrimination' which to some extent has in the last couple of years even displaced 'diversity' as the most fashionable phrase in the debate surrounding integration. It was defined in the directive for Lappalainen's work as: 'rules, norms, routines, patterns of attitudes and behaviour in institutions and other societal structures that represent obstacles to ethnic or religious minorities in achieving the same rights and opportunities that are available to the majority of the population'¹¹³ (SOU 2005:56: 41-42). 'Structural' (or 'institutional') discrimination was seen as a failing of the 'principle of equality' and a democratic challenge for society as a whole (Ibid:42).

The enquiries, and those leading them, all emphasised to a greater or lesser extent the idea of 'othering' in societal processes around identity and consequently

¹¹⁰ Riksrevisionen, 'Från invandrapolitik till invandrapolitik'.

¹¹¹ 'Integrationens Svarta Bok. Slutbetänkande.'

¹¹² 'Utredning om makt och inflyttande ur ett integrationspolitisk perspektiv.'

¹¹³ This is the original text from the English summary. The equivalent Swedish was: 'regler, normer, rutiner, vedertagna förhållningssätt och beteenden i institutioner och andra samhällsstrukturer som utgör hinder för etniska eller religiösa minoriteter att uppnå lika rättigheter och möjligheter som majoriteten av befolkningen har.' (SOU 2005:56: 21)

introduced a fairly theoretical level to the policy debate. Indeed, one of Kamali's key reports was entitled 'Beyond Us and Them: theoretical reflections on power, integration and structural discrimination'¹¹⁴ (SOU 2005:41) and the idea of the exclusion of 'others', 'outsiders' and 'immigrants' through societal structures was prominent particularly in the work of Kamali and Lappalainen. Rather unfortunately, the evidence for this was a little imprecise. The argument was often made through guilt by association, both with historical incidences of racism and discrimination, and with a broader argument that 'in Europe integration has been commonly disconnected from any recognition of or opposition to discrimination'¹¹⁵ (SOU 2005:56: 200). In other instances, chiefly in the series of reports from Kamali, substantiation for the claim of structural discrimination was at times little more than anecdotal (see for example SOU 2006:73 Chapter 3, SOU 2006:79 Chapter 3 or SOU 2005:69).

As a result, both enquiries, and in particular Kamali's, met with substantial opposition both politically and in public debate and Kamali's enquiry seemed especially to go out of its way to paint an extremely negative picture of multicultural society in Sweden. Nevertheless they did have some importance in gaining wide recognition of the impact of societal norms, attitudes and structures for the egalitarian integration of immigrants. As Jørgensen points out, Mona Sahlin, the integration minister at the time Kamali's enquiry was set up, increasingly referred to 'anti-discrimination policy' in the context of integration policy (Jørgensen 2006:286ff.). However, the extent to which this was indeed change should perhaps not be overstated. The emphasis on continually striving to overcome exclusionary mechanisms can be seen to build directly from the prominence given to equality as a pillar of integration policy. It can also be seen as an extension of the sort of arguments made by the proponents of the change in citizenship legislation to encourage a sense of societal belonging that was fully inclusive.

¹¹⁴ 'Bortom Vi och Dom: Teoretiska reflektioner om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering.'

¹¹⁵ 'I Europa har integration frigiorts till stor del från kopplingen till ett erkännande och motverkande av diskriminering.'

Lastly, it should be noted that, in the year following the 2006 election, there was little movement on either integration or citizenship after the new government took power. Press releases and speeches have emphasised inclusiveness and support for society's diversity, and accented employment as the route to integration. As noted earlier, the Board for Integration and Magnusson's Parliamentary Committee, which had been tasked to review integration policy, were closed down quickly after the Alliance's election victory. The new government also emphasised integration policy's wider link to 'social exclusion and urban development'¹¹⁶ but at the close of the period studied this had not had any discernible impact on thinking about citizenship.

In Conclusion

This chapter has considered the way in which policy approaches to citizenship and naturalisation evolved in Sweden during the period from 1994-2007. At the centre of discussion has been the new Swedish citizenship law introduced in 2001. This marked a fundamental shift to full acceptance - and even encouragement - of dual or multiple citizenship. The chapter has shown how Swedish citizenship policy was intimately connected with a systematically developed integration policy. Thinking about citizenship and its meaning built on this integration policy and was strongly influenced by the ideas seen as its foundational 'pillars' and objectives: equality, freedom of choice and partnership.

Support for the dual citizenship reforms was based on recognition of an increasingly international and diverse Sweden. The tone of argument was that allowing expression of individuals' 'cultural links and identities to more than one country' was in line with the aims of integration policy. This chapter's discussion has identified the importance that was given to facilitation of individuals' ability to decide for themselves their attachment: 'the band that they have with other countries'. In addition there was a strong priority given to supporting each individual's sense of personal and emotional certainty, with the Parliamentary

¹¹⁶ 'Utanförskap and urbanutvecklingspolitik'

Committee on Citizenship identifying this as ‘perhaps the most important advantage’ of granting access to dual citizenship. This recognition of what was perceived as individuals’ needs lay conceptually alongside and intertwined with the recognition of expanding societal diversity; and the material emphasised that the benefit to the Swedish state came from benefiting individuals through allowing greater freedom to naturalise and hold dual citizenship. As the chapter has shown, this logic provided the conceptual foundation to the clear position taken against the introduction of any form of citizenship testing which, it was argued, would risk an arbitrary and unjust impact on individuals and damage the aims of integration. Ceremonies and wider information campaigns about citizenship and naturalisation were strongly supported and they expanded during the period studied. These central themes are returned to in the comparative analysis of section III. First, the thesis builds on this chapter’s discussion by moving on to identify the key conceptualisations of citizenship found in the Swedish case.

Chapter 5. Swedish Case-Study Analysis

Conceptualisations of Citizenship

Chapter 4 assessed the contemporary evolution of Swedish government policy and government sponsored work around citizenship and introduced the themes that have influenced this work. It also considered how understandings and debate have been contextualised in a wider discussion around ‘integration policies’ and the particular role of thinking about ideals such as equality and diversity. The material made clear how long-term changes such as increasing immigration and ethnic and cultural diversity stimulated the sense of a need for new citizenship legislation; how that led to acceptance of the principle of dual citizenship; the perceived benefits of that change; and the rejection of a language or knowledge test for naturalisation. Building on that assessment this chapter analyses the conceptualisations of citizenship evident in the textual and interview material from the Swedish case.

Following the analytical approach outlined in Chapter 3 this chapter analyses both the way in which citizenship has been conceptualised and the tensions that contextualise thinking on citizenship. These conceptualisations and tensions inevitably overlap and interplay with one another and it is emphasised that the following terms are not seen as independent, free-standing understandings. At the heart of the Swedish discourse around citizenship are a trinity of key conceptualisations. Citizenship is seen as being about firstly, *integration*; secondly, *equality* (access to resources and rights); and thirdly *belonging*. This trinity of conceptualisations influence one another strongly and provide a backbone to Swedish policy-makers understanding of citizenship. Two other conceptualisations of citizenship also clearly emerge from the material with citizenship being understood, fourthly, as being about a ‘welcoming’ *symbolism*; and fifthly, as framed and *responding to a global, internationalising context*. These latter understandings interplay with and support the ‘trinity’ but are somewhat less powerfully expressed in policy documents and by policy-makers. Alongside these

key conceptualisations a number of tensions inform and provide substance to understandings of citizenship. Again, although it would be misleading to suggest that these can be fundamentally categorised there are certain key themes that emerge. These are tensions around: citizenship as a means or end; the importance of naturalisation and citizenship; problems of categorisation and stigmatisation in language; national understandings and the role of specific versus general policy actions.

In keeping with the grounded theory tone of this research these conceptualisations and tensions - drawn from the primary material – direct the structure of the discussion below. It is through them that the research questions are answered and the major citizenship reforms of 2001 – the introduction of dual citizenship, ceremonies and the reluctance to introduce any sort of naturalisation test - are understood.

The focus of this research is to explore the understandings of citizenship apparent in policy. However, before proceeding to discuss conceptualisations of citizenship in the Swedish case it is worthwhile briefly noting developments around the practical issues relating to naturalisation – and the way these inform the understandings assessed below. The arrival of the 2001 legislation on the statute book seems to have utterly ended any argument about dual citizenship. In any post-2001 material and in the research interviews there has been almost no hint of criticism of the 2001 reforms or of the concept of dual citizenship.¹¹⁷ Indeed it seems to have been accepted so profoundly and unanimously that both the results and the influence of the reforms are now taken for granted in the contemporary situation and by policy-makers. As will be seen below, this has had an ensuing effect on the conceptualisation of terms such as diversity and integration and the understanding of and positioning of ideas on the nation-state and identity. The wholehearted acceptance of dual citizenship and the relative ease of naturalisation has also impacted on wider Swedish debates about integration. Long-running concerns about civic inclusion – immigrants right to vote, participate and be

¹¹⁷ The only exception being in the research interview with Qaisar Mahmood.

officially recognised as a Swede etc. - were somewhat neutered by dual citizenship and in Marshallian terms immigrants have achieved full civic and political equality. This seems to have opened space for the wider integration debate to shift focus to social equality, the question of belonging and notably, the link between the two.

With the exception of the 2002 election debate, testing as part of the naturalisation process has remained off the agenda and was viewed by number of policy-makers as threatening to the principle of equality and unhelpful in promoting integration or belonging. This position may gradually evolve under the new government but at the time of writing, and despite some public hinting, there has been no substantial movement. Citizenship or 'welcome' ceremonies have however been consistently promoted during this decade and they have continued to expand. Notwithstanding some pockets of scepticism policy and policy-makers present citizenship ceremonies as supportive of integration aims and symbolically important in suggesting Sweden's openness to internationalisation and diversity.

The Swedish Trinity: Integration, Equality and Belonging (as 'certainty')

(1) Citizenship as linked to integration

Chapter 4 made clear the importance of integration policy in influencing understandings of citizenship and naturalisation. The 1999 policy is - or at least should be - the philosophical cornerstone of approaches to any societal process or problem that affects immigrants and their impact on Swedish society as a whole. The three 'pillars', or principles of the policy were discussed in Chapter 4 and particularly the thinking about 'equality' and 'freedom of choice' can be seen to have influenced the way in which citizenship is conceptualised. Equality is discussed in detail below as part of the 'trinity' and the plausible connection between 'freedom of choice' and openness to dual citizenship is also assessed (particularly in section 3 and 5). More broadly, integration, as an idea and a contested ideal is embedded in thinking about citizenship. It ties to ideas of belonging and objectives of equality. It is called up to explain the policy positions regarding dual citizenship, lack of naturalisation requirements and use of citizenship ceremonies. It lies at the heart of debate over use of language and

categorisations, how Swedes understand themselves or whether naturalisation to Swedish citizenship should be viewed as a means (to integration) or an end in itself.

As a contextual discourse the idea of integration is consistently present in discussion of citizenship policy. The Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship argued broadly that ‘the possibility of becoming a Swedish citizen is [...] a very important part of the integration process’¹¹⁸ (SOU 1999:34: 330). Indeed the entire concluding section of substance in the report focuses on measures to promote the status of citizenship and does so in the context of ‘strengthening citizenship’s status as a link in the process of integration’¹¹⁹ (Ibid:303). The legislative changes suggested by the Committee, including the easing of the application process for children and permitting dual citizenship, were placed in this context¹²⁰ (Ibid:330) and throughout the document citizenship and the aims of integration are referred to as interlinked. Although they were not laid out systematically, a number of perspectives on citizenship’s interplay with the process of integration could be seen in both the Citizenship Committee’s report and the government’s proposition. The acquisition of citizenship was argued to be importantly symbolic, both as a sign of welcoming immigrants into Swedish society and as an important statement of their equality. Additionally citizenship was argued to encourage a sense of belonging and aid political participation through granting the right to vote in national elections (these issues are returned to in detail below). Citizenship was argued to be a keen means to smoothing and aiding integration: ‘through strengthening citizenship’s status (and significance) integration processes are promoted’¹²¹ (Ibid:303).

In the discursive linking of the process of integration and citizenship, integration is emphasised as mutual and reciprocal. Support for the centrality of reciprocal integration was a recurrent theme in the research interviews. As noted in Chapter 4,

¹¹⁸ ‘Möjligheten att bli svensk medborgare är [...] en mycket viktig del i integrationsprocessen.’

¹¹⁹ ‘(för att) stärka medborgarskapets status som ett led i integrationsprocessen.’

¹²⁰ Stateless children born and resident in Sweden were to have an immediate right to citizenship acquisition.

¹²¹ ‘Genom att stärka medborgarskaps status (betydelse) främjas integrationsprocessen’

Johansson argued that reciprocity was one of what he saw as two key foundational ideas to the 1999 integration policy.¹²² Similarly, Astudillo¹²³ maintained that the idea of integration being a reciprocal process was essential to understandings of integration in distancing the concept from any hint or undertones of assimilatory approaches. Such an approach has continued under the centre-right government with the migration minister Tobias Billström reiterating that ‘the integration process must be mutual in the sense that everyone, irrespective of background, is involved and contributes to building a shared future’ (Regeringskansliet 2007). The integration strategy stressed that ‘The process of integration is reciprocal, [...] integration is not only a question about and for immigrants’¹²⁴ (Reg. P. 1997/98:16:24). In grand terms it went on to state that ‘In an ethnically and culturally diverse society individuals should complement one another and mutually contribute their competence and life experience in order to allow the potential of diversity to be set free [...]’¹²⁵ (Ibid.). In their recommendations the Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship referred considerably to and substantially built on this approach.

Reiterating the way in which reciprocity went beyond simply recognition and tolerance the Citizenship Committee argued that ‘Immigrants cultural and linguistic background should not only be acknowledged, it should also be promoted’¹²⁶ (SOU 1999:34: 304). And citing the integration strategy the Committee reiterated that integration must ‘be about the possibility to be part of a larger whole without needing to do violence to one’s own cultural or ethnic identity’¹²⁷ (Ibid:305). Such argument should not however, be misinterpreted as a naïve endorsement of a form of multiculturalism. The integration policy had stated explicitly that ‘segregation,

¹²² As observed earlier and returned to below, the other was the idea that all policy should understand and respond to society’s diversity. Interestingly Johansson also saw reciprocity as arguably building on the ‘partnership’ principle of integration policy.

¹²³ Luciano Astudillo, Member of the Parliamentary Committee on Integration chaired by Leif Magnusson. The Social Democrat’s spokesman on integration from 2006 to date.

¹²⁴ ‘Integrationsprocesserna är ömsesidiga [...] integration är inte endast en fråga om och för invandrare.’

¹²⁵ ‘I ett samhälle med etnisk och kulturell mångfald bör människor komplettera varandra och ömsesidigt bidra med sin kompetens och livserfarenhet för att den potential som finns i mångfalden skall frigöras [...]’

¹²⁶ ‘Invandrades kulturella och språkliga bakgrund skulle inte bara erkännas, den skulle också främjas.’

¹²⁷ ‘[...] handla om möjligheterna att ingå i en store helhet utan att behöva göra våld på sin kulturella och etniska identitet.’

whether chosen by oneself, or forced upon one, is as undesirable as enforced assimilation'¹²⁸ (Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 23). The argument was not to encourage the separate existence of equal communities but rather as the Citizenship Committee put it, that 'society's ethnic and cultural diversity, including its linguistic and religious diversity, should be the starting point for all policy design and implementation at all societal levels'¹²⁹ (SOU 1999:34: 305-306).

The interview data reveals a clear sense of movement, where a mindset previously more influenced by multiculturalism and supportive to specific policy measures for immigrants gives way to an increasing emphasis on the reciprocal integration mentioned above and the idea as Johansson expressed it that 'general policy should recognise society's diversity'. Chapter 2 outlined how Klusmeyer & Aleinikoff (2000), Geddes (2003), Soysal (1994) and others highlighted the way in which citizenship and naturalisation policy links closely to attitudes to integration. The increasingly more active integrationist approach in Sweden can be seen to have provided a supportive context for the citizenship reforms through its accenting of the changing nature of Swedish society. Rather than the issue being about accommodating specific groups of immigrants it was made clear that the key concern was acknowledging and adequately responding to a changed Sweden. In the research interviews Olauson spoke of the citizenship ceremonies in this context of reciprocal integration and recognition of diversity. She maintained that ceremonies help to spread knowledge that: 'we are many different people who are Swedes...and we have different backgrounds and ways of living'. Similarly Messing argued strongly that pride in diversity was an important part of integration and that to 'protect and safeguard' diversity was a 'part of Sweden's identity'. She argued quite forcefully that emphasising diversity supported the idea of reciprocal integration and that 'citizenship helps with the idea that one isn't just here as a guest but one is also a part of the country'. Messing argued that a crucial link between the citizenship reforms and thinking about integration was making it easier

¹²⁸ 'Segregation, självvald eller påtvingad, är därför lika lite önskvärd som påtvingad assimilation.'

¹²⁹ 'samhällets etniska och kulturella mångfald, vari även innefattas språklig och religiös mångfald, bör tas som utgångspunkt för den generella politikens utformning och genomförande på alla samhällsnivåer.'

for those that had immigrated to feel involved in society and its development. Using an interesting turn of phrase she spoke of people being able to feel that they were ‘en pusselbit’, literally ‘a piece in the jigsaw’. Such thinking shows citizenship being conceptualised as concurrently about integration *and* belonging and this was explicit in the Citizenship Committee’s succinct statement that: ‘The Committee see citizenship as a pathway to [a sense of] belonging and a link in the integration process’¹³⁰ (SOU 1999:34: 318). Belonging, affinity and integration were viewed then as interlocking aspects influencing and parallel to citizenship and ‘belonging’ is the focus of section three below.

In conceptualising naturalisation and citizenship as being about integration, citizenship was seen by Swedish policy-makers principally as a means, as an instrumental tool in advancing integration. It is also conceived of course as an intrinsic good in suggesting equal status and symbolising belonging (most evident in the 2001 legislation’s call for raising the status of citizenship) and when asked, Messing argued that citizenship has both instrumental and intrinsic worth. Nevertheless, in the Swedish case it was noticeable that there was little weight placed on the standing or prestige of citizenship in itself. Rather there is a strong narrative of instrumentalism around citizenship and particularly naturalisation as being symbolically and practically beneficial in furthering integration and aiding the acclaimed goals of equality and diversity. This was articulated by some of the research interviewees, including Westin¹³¹, Astudillo and others, as a sense of membership and a view of citizenship as providing a common bond for societal members. This conceptualisation of citizenship was a recurring theme and links not only to understandings of citizenship as being about integration and belonging but also to being about achieving equality and fair access to resources. Westholm¹³², who chaired the ‘Political Integration’ Enquiry, stated that its work was really about ‘the realisation of the ideal of citizenship’ in its attempt to understand the

¹³⁰ ‘Kommittén ser medborgarskapet som en väg till samhörighet och ett led i integrationsprocessen.’

¹³¹ Charles Westin, longstanding commentator, author and political consultant on integration and citizenship policy. Professor at CEIFO at Stockholm University.

¹³² Anders Westholm, Chair of the Commission on ‘Power and Influence in the Politics of Integration’ (Utredning om makt och inflyttande ur ett integrationspolitisk perspektiv).

reasons for differential access to resources and social rights between Swedish-born and immigrant residents.¹³³ This broad ideal of integration as ultimately being an egalitarian objective directed not towards cultural assimilation but towards access to social goods was a common one amongst the interviewees. Citizenship then is not conceptualised as something intrinsically good that people gain as a reward or as evidence of integration. Rather it's about what Olauson called 'making people's lives easier', or in Borevi's¹³⁴ formulation, helping to provide the resources that are necessary to participate fully and equally in society. Citizenship was frequently contextualised as being about equality and Olauson underlined that her drive for the dual citizenship reforms was based on the argument that this was a step towards allowing access to the same societal dignity and respect for all.¹³⁵ The discourse of equality surrounding citizenship is now turned to in more detail.

(2) Citizenship as about equality, resources and rights

Equality's role as a pillar of Swedish integration policy was outlined in Chapter 4 and it plays a strong role too in the troika of fundamental ways in which citizenship is understood in Swedish policy. Citizenship was frequently conceptualised as being about 'equality' and 'fairness' in the research interviews; as far as possible all should have access to the same resources and rights. Astudillo commented that if class was the historic hinder that had stood in the way of equality, now it could also be argued to be ethnic background (Cf. Astudillo 2004:12). Aiding the objective of equality for all was then a primary aim in thinking about citizenship. In yet, as Westholm, Ornbrant and others noted, the substantial weight given to equality across all Swedish policy creates a fascinating paradox for citizenship. On the one hand, a discourse of equality framed the dual citizenship reforms and as discussed above it was argued strongly that citizenship smoothed the pathway for immigrants to societal integration and equal opportunities and possibilities. On this

¹³³ These formulations echo Westholm and the Enquiry's terminology of 'infödd' (native born) and 'invandrad' (immigrated).

¹³⁴ Karin Borevi, Secretary of the Commission on 'Power and Influence in the Politics of Integration' and editor of a number of its volumes. Author of 'Välfärdsstaten i det Mångkulturella Samhället' ('The Welfare State in Multicultural societies').

¹³⁵ Olauson spoke of holders of citizenship being able to 'gå med en rak rygg'; literally, 'walk with a straight back'.

analysis citizenship was to be promoted and its status intensified. However this sat alongside a long-standing policy commitment to what might be called strong denizenship. The provision of economic, social and even political rights to residents on the basis of fairness and independent of their citizenship status meant that it could be difficult to distinguish exactly why citizenship was important.

Johansson commented that there was a contradiction in trying to heighten citizenship's status while simultaneously 'the constitution states that one should have equal rights irrespective of citizenship'. Hermansson too noted that 'regardless of political position there's been the argument that one should as far as possible strive towards equal rights for residents regardless of citizenship'. However, while Messing, the minister responsible for introducing the legislation, agreed with this she argued that it was 'different to live in a country with permanent residence but not have Swedish citizenship'. Stating that duties and rights were made clearer with citizenship she also argued that citizenship conferred a different sort of equality:

'[as] a signal, it confirms one's identity... We want people that live here to feel that they are full citizens and sure, have rights if something was to happen; but also be a part of the development of the country.'

There are two interesting aspects to Messing's assertion. Firstly, it suggests citizenship as membership. Secondly it again ties to a wider vision of Swedish society as being strongly influenced by globalisation and striving to retain its openness. The preceding chapter noted Hermansson's statement that the objective was for citizenship legislation to be as 'open and generous' as possible and that unnecessary impediments should be removed. This concern with 'fairness' is clearly manifested in the approach to citizenship testing. Sweden continues to be an exception in not having any sort of pre-naturalisation language or societal knowledge examination and it was a position broadly defended by the research interviewees. Some, like Ornbrant, claimed that examining prospective citizens simply didn't have any real utility and was a distraction from the 'real' tasks of

integration. Although sympathetic to that view, intriguingly the most forcefully expressed argument of both the two previous ministers that were interviewed was coined in the language of equality. Asked about why Sweden has no naturalisation exam Orback gestured at the people sitting in the café where the interview took place:

‘I don’t think it’s such a big question. And I really believe in the idea of equality – if you look around here, then most of the people in here have got their citizenship without knowing Swedish or any other language! No, no, none of this specific legislation [for immigrants]!’

Messing was even more definite and clearly political in her reasoning against a test:

‘When one talks about the test it’s not French technicians at Ericsson or Americans or Englishmen that one thinks of. It’s people who have come as refugees, that’s where people focus. [...] We have never had a citizenship test or had some ‘citizenship light’ model. There is one citizenship and either one is a citizen or one is not – there are no variants to it. Citizenship is the same for all – and that is the philosophy of equality.’

The centrality of thinking about equality in the Swedish approach to citizenship legislation was also enunciated in the work of the Committee on Citizenship. The Committee emphasised the importance of language knowledge for the integration and participation of immigrants arguing that ‘a harmonious and well-organised multicultural society cannot become reality without the (Swedish) language as a means of communication’¹³⁶ (SOU 1999:34: 314). In yet, despite this, they contended that the different circumstances of individuals made it unfair for a language requirement to be connected to citizenship. Citing (possibly detrimental) ‘circumstances’ such as previous education, work/home balance and an

¹³⁶ ‘Ett harmoniske och välorganiserat mångkulturellt samhälle kan inte bli verklighet utan språket som kommunikationsmedel.’

individual's workplace they argued that even if exceptions were allowed it would always prove difficult to cover all eventualities and that 'a language requirement would hit hardest those with the worst prerequisites for meeting it',¹³⁷ (Ibid:316). The tone of the report was that selection and exclusion are, by their very nature, unfair and that the likely success of individuals in any language test would 'vary from immigrant to immigrant for reasons that the individual lacks control over',¹³⁸ (Ibid.). The Committee then conceived of citizenship as accessible and non-exclusive; as an egalitarian concept, in principle open to anyone.

Chapter 4 mentioned the abolition of the 'for the benefit of the country' clause used for granting citizenship in exceptional circumstances.¹³⁹ This is again an example of the way in which citizenship was conceptualised as about the principles of equality and fairness, with the Committee arguing that the granting of citizenship should not be dependent on 'whether Sweden as a country draws some benefit'¹⁴⁰ but focused on the circumstances of the individual and their needs¹⁴¹ (Ibid:21). When asked about the removal of the clause the interviewees involved saw it as simply commonsensical. Hermansson stated: 'There was no big discussion – it was seen as out of date. We wanted to get away from the idea that the government could have any special competence to choose who could receive citizenship'.

Citizenship is consistently understood within the interplaying conceptualisations of the trinity outlined above and this provides strong evidence of the way in which thinking about citizenship is built on the assumptions and ideals of integration policy. The interlocking of equality and integration was clear in that policy with the key objective being laid out as 'equal rights and possibilities for all, regardless of ethnicity or cultural background and a national community founded on society's

¹³⁷ 'ett språkkrav slår orättvist mot dem som har sämst förutsättningar att uppfylla kravet.'

¹³⁸ 'variera från invandrare till invandrare och detta av skäl som den enskilde invandraren inte råder över.'

¹³⁹ Many countries have used 'exceptional circumstances' to bypass legislation in awarding citizenship to 'desirable' citizens, not least prospective medal-winning athletes. Zola Budd, a South African and Olympic gold medal hope, being a famous example in the case of the UK.

¹⁴⁰ 'om Sverige som land kan ha någon nytta [av att personen beviljas svenskt medborgarskap]'

¹⁴¹ This contrasts sharply with the language that opens a number of the UK documents where it is stated that immigrants and new citizens should be 'useful' to the UK. This is most obviously symbolised in the recently introduced points system.

diversity’¹⁴² (Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 1). The aim of equality through general welfare politics was to make no distinctions for immigrants who should ‘have the prospect of the same living standards as the ‘domestic’ population’¹⁴³ (Ibid:15) and as considered above the integration policy of the late 1990s was explicit in its insistence on attempting to minimise the amount of differentiated particular policy for immigrants. Orback’s comment regarding his reasons for not supporting a citizenship test was fairly typical of the tone of research interviewees in arguing in line with integration strategy that as far as possible those that had immigrated should be treated in exactly the same way as those that were native-born. Support for ‘general’, rather than ‘specific’ targeted policy approaches was widespread and this was formulated in the language of equality. Orback spoke of ‘mainstreaming’¹⁴⁴ the integration strategy’s objectives of the same rights, duties and opportunities for all and spoke of the need to learn from the way gender equality had been mainstreamed. Indeed, he argued that his role as integration minister was to persuade all the other ministers that integration was core to their own responsibilities. Such discussion framed thinking about citizenship and was a cornerstone in the argument for the opening to dual citizenship. Olauson, Johansson, and Messing all spoke of the reform as being about equal rights and fairness. If all policy was to advance the aims of integration and holding citizenship was seen as beneficial to integration then it logically followed that making dual citizenship available was simply commonsensical. This was very much the tone adopted by Olauson who noted that previously non-citizens had not wanted to apply in order to avoid losing their original citizenship which was often seen as strongly symbolic of their identity. That legislation thus excluded individuals from citizenship was seen as unfair and unjust and Olauson argued that allowing dual citizenship helped to provide those who had immigrated with a greater sense of security and allowed them to ‘advance in Swedish society with more certainty’.

¹⁴² ‘(...) lika rättigheter och möjligheter för alla oavsett etnisk och kulturell bakgrund, en samhällsgemenskap med samhällets mångfald som grund (...)’

¹⁴³ ‘(...) ha möjligheten att leva på samma standardnivå som den inhemska befolkningen.’

¹⁴⁴ Here Orback used the English term.

An individual's sense of identity and belonging was then recognised as having an impact on the likelihood of naturalisation. The traditionally strong emphasis on denizen's rights and the interrelated and wider discourses around equality in Swedish policy meant that an ambivalence remained as to just how important naturalisation was for equality. However, as indicated by Olauson, the dual citizenship legislation had the consequence that: 'arguments relating to the *jus domicilii* principle and political equality' (i.e. the 'right of residence') evolved towards 'discussions about the implications of citizenship and especially arguments relating to changes of attachment' (Spång 2003:128). Thus arguments about equality became intertwined with and buttressed by arguments about belonging.

(3) Citizenship as about belonging and membership

The third of the core 'trinity' of conceptualisations of citizenship that is clearly identifiable in the research is the linking of citizenship to ideas about belonging. Both the official discussion on integration and on citizenship explicitly tackled the role of belonging and identity and the dual citizenship reforms were viewed as a way of easing the route to a sense of belonging for newcomers. Spång notes that the earnest acknowledgements of the centrality of ideas about allegiance and attachment were something new in official discussion about citizenship (Ibid:81). Citizenship was conceived as related to belonging in different, albeit interlocking ways. Firstly, through understandings of citizenship as a form of membership that helped provide the ubiquitously coveted 'trygghet' – a sense of security and freedom from uncertainty, a 'comfortableness' with one's position. Secondly, citizenship is associated with belonging through helping to articulate the type of national society the citizen is a member of. This is often expressed as a vision of modern society based on recognition of evolving, multi-levelled, or indeed transnationalist, identities. Thirdly, ideas of citizenship and belonging interlinked through their contextualisation in debates about the problems of categorisation and language that can seem omnipresent in the Swedish discourse around integration. Each of these issues are analysed below.

The idea of citizenship as membership was taken up by a number of the interviewees. Borevi noted how the idea of membership could have a relatively thin sense in simply referring to legal status or suggest a thicker sense of participation and acceptance in society. As discussed above, the strong denizenship offered by Sweden meant that to some extent the change in legal status through naturalisation was seen to be fairly nominal – a number of interviewees pointed out that it resulted ‘simply’ in one gaining a passport and a right to vote in parliamentary general elections. More though was made of the role citizenship could play in encouraging a sense of belonging and security in Swedish society and this emphasis was particularly strong amongst those that had worked directly on developing the new citizenship legislation. Both Hermansson and Johansson spoke of the dual citizenship changes being about making people feel more welcome and easing their sense of inclusion. Olauson talked about the reforms as helping to indicate to wider society the ‘many different people’ who now belong in Sweden and helping those who had taken citizenship to feel that ‘they can advance in Swedish society with more certainty’. Messing similarly understood naturalisation as being connected in some way to belonging. Talking of the importance of the citizenship ceremonies in demonstrating the importance of citizenship she argued that they were a celebration of newly naturalised citizens being confidently able to ‘feel that now I’m part of Swedish society’. Also for Astudillo naturalisation was seen as a manifestation of membership and something to be promoted as proof of full inclusion:

‘If you live here then it’s good that you become a full member in our society...and it won’t be made difficult just because you’ve another background and different experiences from another country...we don’t want to make you feel as if you must renounce that, rather we think it’s fine that you’re from elsewhere and if you live here that you feel that you are a fully valid member in this society.’

Such statements suggest the way in which citizenship and belonging is conceived in the Swedish case as being more about inclusion in Swedish society than about

acquiring a sense of ‘Swedishness’. The ideal of security and certainty was consistently raised in both the documents and the interviews and this was linked to dual citizenship. As noted in the preceding chapter, the Swedish Board for Integration produced a pamphlet in 2002 that was used to communicate and promote the legislative changes of the previous year and particularly the supposed benefits of the opening to dual citizenship. In emphasising the advantages of being able to hold more than one citizenship it stated that ‘the possibility of keeping the bond with one’s old homeland can provide an assurance, both for those that have immigrated to Sweden and for Swedes abroad’¹⁴⁵ (Integrationsverket 2002(b):22). It went on to argue that this sense of security - ‘trygghet’ – aids integration by ‘helping one feel at home more quickly, make contacts and have the confidence to engage and express oneself in the new country’¹⁴⁶ (Ibid.). The understanding of belonging that emerges is less about national identity – at least as a sense of behavioural norms or something that needs to be changed or declared - and more about societal inclusion. The lack of a naturalisation testing regime is evidence of the way an affirmation of ‘Swedishness’ was not seen as necessary in order to belong. Rather, ‘Swedishness’, understood as the structure and constitution of Swedish society, was seen to be evolving as a consequence of the globalisation processes acknowledged by the Citizenship Committee and the government in their legislative proposals. The understanding of Swedish society as diverse and evolving was important in thinking about citizenship, its link to ideas about belonging and the sort of societal vision expressed by policy-makers.

The increasing recognition of the need to consider the impact of understandings of identity built on the belief that earlier policy had misunderstood this issue and to some extent resulted in unfortunate and unintended consequences. In his analysis Spång argues that historic ways of interpreting the ‘partnership’ strand of integration policy and the promotion of ethnic associations had led to ‘a very static understanding of identity (Spång 2003: 45). As noted in Chapter 4, the Proposition

¹⁴⁵ ‘Möjligheten att ha kvar banden till det gamla hemlandet kan vara en trygghet, både för invandrare i Sverige och för utlandssvenskar.’

¹⁴⁶ ‘[Den tryggheten kan också] bidra till att man snabbare känner sig hemma, hittar nya kontakter och vågar säga sin mening i det nya landet.’

of 1997/98 discussed how the objective of ‘cultural freedom of choice’ within the integration policy of 1975 had both, ‘created expectations of particular policies for ethnic groups and been seen as a threat to Swedishness’¹⁴⁷ (Reg. P. 1997/98:16:18). The argument made was that this previous emphasis had suggested the ‘right’ to choose to what extent one wished to engage with Swedish society and norms and how much one wished to retain one’s own cultural behaviour and identity. Such a stance was argued to have helped create an impression, a discourse of the separateness of immigrant groups, a division between ‘us and them’ and the suggestion of an essentialist understanding of identity as changeless. In addition this position had been reinforced by the historic opposition to dual citizenship. In 1985 Tomas Hammar contended that sense of identity was a central reason in individuals’ reluctance to change citizenship. Noting that his survey data showed a hugely increased propensity to naturalise if one could keep one’s original citizenship, Hammar argued that ‘a change to this principle (of opposing dual citizenship) might [...] lead to considerable increase in the rate of naturalisation’ (Hammar 1985: 442-443). The dual citizenship reforms recognised this position and as is apparent in Astudillo’s quote above, the new integration policy and the citizenship legislation still strove to acknowledge the legitimacy of an individual’s ethnic (or original) identity. However, at the same time the aim was to encourage naturalisation and a firm association with Sweden through recognition and endorsement of Swedish society as open and diverse and be clear about official support for an evolving more plural self-image.

This sort of representation was very much to the fore in the promotional pamphlet and it expressed a civic sense of inclusion where being a Swede meant simply having one’s daily life in Sweden. In short interviews with different Swedish citizens it illustrated a variety of diverse and multiple identities: from the pseudo hyphenated ‘Swedish and Syrian’, to a ‘Swede from Bosnia’, ‘a Swede abroad’ and lastly a ‘Swede from Sweden’(!). The explicit message was that Sweden and Swedishness were cheerfully changing. The ‘Swede from Sweden’ was cited as

¹⁴⁷ ‘(har dels) skapat förväntningar på en särskild politik för etniska grupper, dels setts som ett hot mot svenskheten.’

saying that ‘today, the word ‘Swede’ means to me a person who lives in Sweden. Some of us have our background in other countries’¹⁴⁸ (Integrationsverket 2002(b):21). In Prime Minister Göran Persson’s foreword the sense of an almost *laissez faire* approach to belonging came through:

‘I’m pleased when those who live in Sweden want to become citizens. It’s a way to show that one wants to play their part and share both rights and duties on the same terms as other Swedes. [...] As a Swedish citizen you become even more unmistakeably part of everything that goes to make up Sweden. I’m happy if you want to take that step. And regardless of what way you choose, whether you are going to hold only one or several citizenships, I want to say: Welcome!’¹⁴⁹ (Integrationsverket 2002(b):3)

The propaganda message of the pamphlet is stark. At least at the level of policy and political discourse, Sweden welcomes a multicultural, pluralist society. As in the policy documents there is a clear transnationalist tone to the material with recognition of shared, split and evolving identities. The research interviews also supported this position and Magnusson¹⁵⁰ echoed the legislation by interpreting dual citizenship as ‘signalling the possibility to be at home in two cultures’. Messing compared a sense of belonging with a country to the attachment one has to a child. Just as one can love more than one child she argued, so:

‘I think that somehow it is the same with countries. One can feel the same sense of belonging and have the same sense of identity for two or

¹⁴⁸ ‘Idag betyder ordet svensk för mig detsamma som en människa som bor i Sverige. En del av oss har ursprung i andra länder.’

¹⁴⁹ ‘Det gläder mig när människor som lever i Sverige också vill vara medborgare här. Det är ett sätt att visa att man vill vara med och dela både rättigheter och skyldigheter på samma villkor som andra svenskar. [...] Som svensk medborgare blir du ännu tydligare en del av allt det som är Sverige. Jag är glad om du vill ta det steget. Oavsett hur du väljer att göra, om du kommer att ha ett eller flera medborgarskap, så vill jag säga: Välkommen!’

¹⁵⁰ Leif Magnusson, Chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Integration Policy from 2004 until its abolition in autumn 2006 (following the change of government).

three countries. And I think that legislation should accept and affirm that. It is part of the precondition of an individual's security.'

This recognition of the changing role of identity and belonging in the time of globalisation is returned to below in section 5. In addition to her sensibility to the idea of layered and multiple identities Messing was also very keen to stress the citizenship reforms as a way of 'marking our [Sweden's] openness'. She actively contrasted Sweden with Denmark, where recent years have seen a tightening of immigration, asylum and naturalisation policy. Messing argued that 'that was the wrong way to respond to an internationalising world' and failed to see the opportunities of increased mobility and diversity. As a minister, she stated, legislating on dual citizenship was about 'something greater' than 'cutting a ribbon and opening a new motorway'¹⁵¹. It was about choosing a route: 'Shall we be like Denmark and go backwards and try to tighten borders or shall we continue to try and develop and extend our openness?'

An element of the 'openness' emphasised by Messing was an attempt to get beyond the damage categorisation problems and sloppy language use was believed to have caused in the past. As noted earlier the government's strategy for integration stated clearly that 'the comprehensive goal should be to bring about a national community with society's diversity as the foundation'¹⁵² (Reg. P. 1997/98:16). Interestingly, this use of the 'diversity' was as a conscious replacement for 'multicultural', the government arguing that the latter term had become too equivocal because of its different uses both as a description and as a normative policy approach. The contention ran that 'multiculturalism' (as a policy) had become overly associated with immigrants and seen as something only relevant to 'them'. Thus, 'diversity' provided an alternative that highlighted difference - cultural, ethnic, social and religious - within society. It could be used as a less controversial, less ambiguous term which included and was a reality for all society's members; and indeed could

¹⁵¹ In light of this comment it is worth noting that following Messing's time as Minister for Integration she went on to become Minister for Infrastructure (!).

¹⁵² 'Övergripande mål bör vara att åstadkomma en samhällsgemenskap med samhällets mångfald som grund.'

be presented as the fabric of modern Swedish society. The conceptualisation of Swedish citizenship as embedded within ‘diversity’ is returned to below but it is interesting here to consider how it built on wider worries about categorisation.

An earlier use of the descriptive terms, and emphasis on, ‘Swedes’ and ‘non-Swedes’ was viewed as problematic (cf. Jørgensen 2006) and there was a determination in the work of those developing the new integration and citizenship policies to get beyond this. In discussing the way in which it had been common to accentuate immigrants as a group with their own cultural and ethnic background, the government argued in the Proposition of 1997/98 that this had led to immigrants being associated with the idea of difference. This way of thinking together with the fact that institutions had been specifically set up to work with immigrants and immigrant-focused policy had unfortunately ‘strengthened a division of the population into ‘us’ and ‘them’ and contributed to a sense of exclusion’¹⁵³ (Reg. P. 1997/98:16: 17-18). In responding to this on a practical level the government argued that specific measures should be focused on immigrants as a group only where this is justified because ‘their status as an immigrant is a more relevant starting point than other characteristics’¹⁵⁴ (Ibid:20).

Additionally, the importance of the very term ‘immigrant’ as a category was seen to be problematic and the integration policy document included a specific section on use of the concept. The government stated that the word had been used and misused in a number of different ways. Arguing that the concept was ‘grossly generalising’ the Proposition stated that it should especially be avoided in referring to anyone who has been born in Sweden.¹⁵⁵ Maintaining a need for greater terminological clarity the government argued that legislative and documentary use should follow the threefold definitional division of ‘individuals with foreign background; individuals with both Swedish and foreign background; and

¹⁵³ ‘förstärka en uppdelning av befolkningen i ett ”vi” och ett ”dom” och därigenom medverkat till uppkomsten av det utanförskap (...som många invandrare och deras barn upplever i det svenska samhället)’

¹⁵⁴ ‘när invandrarskapet är en mer relevant utgångspunkt för åtgärder än andra förhållanden.’

¹⁵⁵ Astudillo argued that – like ‘multiculturalism’ - the problem with the word ‘immigrant’ was that it always described ‘other cultures and never one’s own’.

individuals with Swedish background’¹⁵⁶ (Ibid:26). The first group are those who are either born outside Sweden or who have two parents that were both born abroad. ‘Both Swedish and foreign background’ is defined as those born in Sweden to one Swedish born and one foreign born parent. ‘Swedish background’ refers to those who were born and whose parents were born in Sweden. Similarly the government argued that the term immigrant should only be used to describe those that have themselves actually immigrated (Ibid:27).¹⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the emphasis is on birth rather than blood. A child could have four immigrant grandparents but be defined and categorised as ‘Swedish background’. This is clearly a societal and civic approach to defining belonging and, the criticism of commentators like Kamali withstanding, there is no evidence for any sort of state or policy support for any ethnic definition of Swedishness, either at an individual or a societal level.

Nevertheless, what Orback called a ‘terminological fetish’ continues to trouble the Swedish debate, albeit that the guidelines laid down in the late nineties have clearly had an impact. Hammar and Hamberg’s relatively unproblematised use of the idea of ‘second generation immigrants’ in their 1981 text *Invandringen och Framtiden* (‘Immigration and the Future’) can be contrasted with modern policy documents where the term is unseen (or the research interviews where it was unheard!). However, despite this clear change there was still some uneasiness amongst interviewees about understandings of national boundaries and for example, Magnusson maintained that acceptance of immigrants as citizens was still not matched by acceptance of immigrants as ‘Swedes’. To some extent this is addressed in what might be conceived of as an overly self-conscious way and terms like ‘Swedes of foreign background’ or ‘Swedes with non-European background’

¹⁵⁶ ‘personer med utländsk bakgrund, personer med både svensk och utländsk bakgrund och personer med svensk bakgrund.’ Interestingly, the document also noted that one must be registered as a resident in order to be an immigrant; asylum seekers and those waiting for a decision on a residency application are not regarded as ‘immigrants’.

¹⁵⁷ Spång includes a brief but interesting discussion on the way in which terminology has evolved. He points out that the word ‘immigrant’ was originally seen as a positive replacement for ‘foreigner’ (Spång 2003:38).

appear in institutional material. In contrast Lappalainen¹⁵⁸ argued in the research interview that immigrants who had naturalised should be referred to as ‘first generation Swedes’. As Integration Minister, Orback appeared sympathetic to just such an approach asserting that: ‘we must show that those who become Swedish citizens are also regarded as Swedes. In the future I hope to hear the expression ‘first generation Swede’ rather than ‘first generation immigrant’¹⁵⁹ (Regeringskansliet 2006:60).

The discussions and debate around categorisation touch on each of the core trinity of ways in which citizenship is conceptualised and contextualised. The linking of belonging with integration and the belief that it aids equality through easing access to societal resources can be seen again in the official pamphlet publicising dual citizenship:

‘Sweden’s view is that [naturalising to] Swedish citizenship facilitates integration. It brings identity, self-esteem and solidarity with the country. [...] The decision to get an education, a job – to become an integrated part of the country surely feels more natural when one has become a citizen. The certificate of citizenship is another way to say: it’s here that I have my life.’¹⁶⁰ (Integrationsverket, 2002(a):9)

This citation makes clear the symbolism that is understood to be associated with citizenship and it is to this and the accentuation of a welcoming tone in understandings of and policy material around naturalisation and citizenship that this chapter now turns.

¹⁵⁸ Paul Lappalainen, commissioner and analyst at the Equality Ombudsman. Author of the Public Enquiry *The Blue and Yellow Glass House: Structural Discrimination in Sweden* (‘Det blågula glashuset’) and an aid in writing the terms of reference for the review of Swedish citizenship laws.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Vi måste visa att den som blir svensk medborgare också betraktas som svensk. I fortsättningen hoppas jag få höra uttrycket "första generationens svensk" istället för "första generationens invandrare”.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Sveriges syn är att ett svenskt medborgarskap underlättar integrationen. Det ger identitet, självkänsla och solidaritet med landet [...] Beslut om att skaffa utbildning, arbete, att bli en integrerad del av landet känns säkert naturligare när man blivit medborgare. Intyget om medborgarskap är ett annat sätt att säga: Här har jag mitt liv.’

A Global Welcome and the Need for Symbolism

(4) Citizenship as a 'welcoming' symbolism

It is clear that the 'trinity' of conceptualisations of citizenship as being about integration, equality and belonging are what lies at the heart of understandings of citizenship in Swedish policy and the views of policy-makers. Nevertheless, as noted at the start of the chapter, alongside and supportive of this 'trinity' it was possible to identify two further understandings of citizenship from the material. Firstly, as having a symbolic, welcoming function; and secondly as contextualised within understandings of globalisation.

The welcoming tone apparent in some of the quotations above and the Board for Integration's pamphlet specifically developed for that purpose can be linked back to the Citizenship Committee's report. In the same section that excludes the idea of testing and talks enthusiastically about ceremonies there is also a discussion on the role and aims of informational material about Swedish citizenship. It was emphasised that the tone of such material should be 'welcoming'. Naturalisation requirements and the status of citizenship should be made clear but the Committee argued that this shouldn't detract from the need to portray 'a serious welcome from society to foreigners who are considering applying for Swedish citizenship'¹⁶¹ (SOU 1999:34: 323).

The emphasis on openness and the wish to portray Sweden as diverse, modern and responding rationally to globalisation interplayed with the perceived need to be seen to be welcoming. Similarly the framing of integration as reciprocal also suggested that, as Johansson put it, 'if we were to have a good society, it had to be welcoming'. This was strongly accented by those involved in producing the citizenship policy and Hermansson framed the promotion of ceremonies along these lines, arguing that this was a way of showing that people were accepted as citizens. He also emphasised that, unlike in other countries, Sweden has not required any pledge of loyalty to be taken by those naturalising. Bernström

¹⁶¹ 'ett seriöst välkomnande från samhällets sida av de utlänningar som överväger att ansöka om svenskt medborgarskap'

contended that the purpose of the ceremonies was to make it easier for one to say they were Swedish. Indeed, the ceremonies were defined by Messing and Orback as ‘welcome ceremonies’ and the pamphlet produced to encourage local councils to hold them was entitled ‘The old and the new: Sweden’s Councils welcome new citizens’¹⁶² (Integrationsverket, 2002(a)). In 2006, as Integration Minister, Orback made it compulsory for regional and local councils to make sure that every newly naturalised citizen was offered the chance to attend a ceremony and stated that: ‘it’s important that anyone who becomes a Swedish citizen is seen as a Swede and also feels themselves to be Swedish. It is about attitudes, but also about how we practically welcome new citizens’¹⁶³ (Regeringskansliet 2006:60).

Interestingly, in the research interview, Westin traced this welcoming attitude and noted the Swedish public’s positive reception of refugees from the ex-Yugoslavia in the early and mid-1990s as ‘creating a supportive public climate for immigration and the acceptance of refugees’. Westin saw this as important in framing subsequent attitudes and discourses around integration which in turn had produced an accommodating context for the dual citizenship reforms. This desire to be (and be seen to be) ‘welcoming’ and a willingness to accept large numbers of refugees has continued in the current decade with Sweden accepting the largest number of Iraqi refugees of any country other than Iraq’s direct neighbours.¹⁶⁴

(5) Citizenship as about responding to a changing global context

It is plain that the new citizenship legislation and thinking about citizenship is strongly contextualised by integration. Another contextual force has played a strong supportive role alongside this – the recognition of a progressively globalising and internationalising backdrop to Swedish policy and society. This is

¹⁶² It is interesting to note here the similarity of the title to the key United Kingdom report ‘The New and the Old’ discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

¹⁶³ ‘Det är viktigt att den som blir svensk medborgare också betraktas som svensk och kan känna sig svensk. Det handlar om attityder men också om hur vi rent praktiskt välkomnar nya medborgare’.

¹⁶⁴ A reminder of this position was seen again in November 2009 when a local council (Vellinge) reacted negatively to the placement of refugees in ‘transit accommodation’ within the council boundaries. This was treated by the media and most of the political class as a minor national scandal and an assault on the broader self-understanding of Sweden as welcoming. Under tremendous pressure the council reversed their position three days later.

now addressed as a final major way in which citizenship has been conceptualised: as responding to this context. The evolution of thinking about integration can be seen to have impacted on the openness and promotion of dual citizenship and this is considered first, particularly policy's acknowledgement and positive acceptance of 'diversity'. This position in turn can be seen to underpin a substantial tinge of transnationalist thinking and this too is assessed.

Spång writes that as the issue of immigration began to be more systematically addressed there was a relative shift from the ideas of assimilation in the early 1960s, towards what he sees as the 'multicultural' 1975 integration policy; based on the three principles (equality, freedom of choice and partnership), and the idea of mutual tolerance between immigrants and the native population (Spång 2003:38 & 33). He argues that the 'freedom of choice' principle discernibly established the policy as 'multicultural'; a view echoed by Roth in the research interview. Understanding 'freedom of choice' as an official position of 'neutrality' meant that 'immigrants are given the option of retaining and developing their own identity or assimilating' and Spång noted the variety of practical measures supported including mother tongue teaching, financial support for immigrant associations and media and information productions in immigrant languages (Ibid:43-44). The Citizenship Committee noted how such a stance in the 1975 policy's foundations had been: 'a clear repudiation of the politics of assimilation. Immigrants' cultural and linguistic background was not only to be acknowledged but also promoted'¹⁶⁵ (SOU 1999:34: 304). However, the Citizenship Committee went on to discuss the unforeseen effects of such an approach and the arguable naivety of 'freedom of choice'. They contended that a policy focused on immigrants and their distinctive characteristics had resulted in the ingraining of a sense of 'difference', a division into 'us and them' and concluded, in citing the integration strategy, that 'segregation, whether chosen freely or forced, is as undesirable as forced assimilation'¹⁶⁶ (Ibid:305).

¹⁶⁵ '(...) ett klart avståndstagande från en assimilationspolitik. Invandrades kulturella och språkliga bakgrund skulle inte bara erkännas, den skulle också främjas.'

¹⁶⁶ 'Segregation, självvald eller påtvingad, är därför lika lite önskvärd som påtvingad assimilation.'

Integration policy, of course, spoke of a shift from a ‘politics of immigrants’ towards a ‘politics of integration’ and the way in which the issues of belonging and societal inclusion had come to be recognised as important in integration and citizenship policy have been assessed above. In response to the critique of integration policy as overly emphasising ‘difference’ or ‘us and them thinking’ and a belief that the term ‘multiculturalism’ had become a victim of ambiguous use and misunderstanding, the new integration policy argued for a downplaying of the term and a stress instead on recognising and promoting the idea of ‘diversity’. Although Sweden could still be described by the Citizenship Committee as ‘in all respects a multicultural society’¹⁶⁷ (Ibid:202) the terminological emphasis, particularly in talking about policy, was placed on ‘diversity’. As Borevi put it in her interview, ‘diversity’ was not just to be used descriptively but also ‘normatively’. It was a ‘good thing’ and the reality of diversity was to inform all policy-making. Putting aside the success or otherwise of the challenges of this for policy implementation, the impact has been to make ‘diversity’, both as a descriptive and a normative term, universally accepted by policy-makers. Recognition of this was widespread in the research interviews, with Hammar noting that ‘no real political opposition’ exists any longer and Lappalainen arguing in his 2005 report that ‘my conclusion is that work with [the policy of] diversity has been depoliticised and it has become a concept that is fully supported’¹⁶⁸ (SOU 2005:56: 201). In his analysis Spång similarly argued that ‘unlike the situation in many other countries in which questions about multiculturalism and diversity are themselves contended issues, debates in Sweden have been about how to recognise that Sweden has become a multicultural society and what are the best ways to achieve integration’ (Spång 2003:53).

It was in this context of understanding Swedish society as rapidly taking on a more ethnically and culturally pluralist form that the proposals for citizenship reform were put forward. It should be recognised too that the emphases on diversity and

¹⁶⁷ ‘ett i alla avseenden mångkulturellt samhälle’

¹⁶⁸ ‘Min slutsats är att arbetet med mångfald har avpolitiserats och blivit ett begrepp som vem som helst kan ställa sig bakom.’

reciprocal integration still built on the original principles of the earlier integration policy and that the objective was not a wholesale reform or a reversal of the principle of individual choice. In Gustafson's analysis he notes that those backing the changes to the legislation 'used arguments about individual identity and freedom of choice as well as arguments about internationalization or globalization.' (Gustafson 2005: 9). Similarly, Spång argues that the principle of 'freedom of choice' was important not just in supporting the discourse of cultural pluralism but also in laying the ground for the 'idea that individuals should be free to choose citizenship' (Spång 2003:125).

The crucial point here is that the naturalisation of migrants is to a Swedish society defined and approvingly promoted as diverse. The opportunities this offered for challenging conceptions of national identity were recognised by policy-makers. Magnusson was one of those who articulated this most clearly:

'For me a multicultural society isn't about there being specific groups here or people being seen as being members of different groups, but rather that there's a greater uncertainty about peoples' identities, things are more negotiable and open and more unpredictable. [...] One can't understand Swedishness in the way that one did before, one must update the idea of a Swede.'

Chapter 2 discussed the idea of identity as a relational process. The theoretical argument that citizenship and national identities can be viewed as bounded but perpetually in a state of transformation was to an extent borne out in the way that understandings of both individual and societal identities as 'evolving' and flexible was common amongst the research interviewees. Mahmood¹⁶⁹ spoke of wanting a 'Swedishness' that 'is influenced by all the new people that come and is in continual change' and argued that the state's role should be 'to make sure there can

¹⁶⁹ Qaisar Mahmood, Secretary on the Parliamentary Committee on Integration Policy. Chief author of the 2005 report 'From a politics for immigrants to a politics for immigrants' ('Från invandrapolitik till invandrapolitik') published by the Swedish National Audit Office (Riksrevisionen).

be a dialogue...provide space...to sit and talk about what Swedishness should be'. Particularly noteworthy was the way in which Astudillo (himself born abroad and the son of Chilean asylum-seekers) spoke of individuals responding to this flexibility by intentionally selecting and articulating their identity in line with their vision of society and its future. He talked of 'consciously positioning' himself as 'Swedish or Swedish with Chilean background'. This is in line with the sort of approach taken towards societal diversity and an internationalising world in the pamphlet promoting naturalisation discussed above. Indeed such a position can be readily interpreted as recognising the increasingly transnationalist existence of a growing number of individuals and the Citizenship Committee argued that 'people in ever increasing numbers feel a real and deep connection to more than one country'¹⁷⁰ (SOU 1999:34: 202).

Recognition of how increasing migration, as a key element of globalisation, was impacting upon the make up of Sweden and fuelling this process of societal redefinition was widespread amongst the research interviewees. Messing maintained that she welcomed this situation and spoke about how much of Sweden's economic success had been built on the immigration of the 1950s and 1970s and the importance of sending the right 'signal' at a time:

'When people travel more and more; change countries and jobs; and conflicts in the world continue [...] If one recognises the way that internationalisation and globalisation is influencing us then one has to be open to that [migration]. One has to be generous and I think that the citizenship legislation shows that.'

Gustafson links the debate on dual citizenship to the theoretical distinction between national and transnational perspectives on migration. Defining transnationalism as understanding 'migration as an ongoing process that involves continuing mobility and relationships across national borders' Gustafson argues that in the Swedish debate the 'promotion of dual citizenship clearly reflects a transnational

¹⁷⁰ '[...] människor i allt högre utsträckning känner verklig och djup anknytning till mer än ett land.'

understanding of migration' (Gustafson 2005: 8&15). Such a position was borne out in the data from this study's research interviews with Hermansson noting that dual citizenship meant it was easier to 'choose to move back later on in life [...] and easier to keep contact with the old homeland'. Johansson spoke of the government's willingness at the time of the citizenship reforms to recognise a sense of belonging with more than one country, as a result of modern 'circular migration' patterns and also the technological possibilities to remain informed and involved in a different country. The citizenship pamphlet argued that it was important to feel that one belonged where one lived; but at the same time was able to feel confident about one's connection to one's roots and one's identity. It stated that the government 'wants to give people greater possibilities to retain contact with their countries of origin and at the same time make integration easier in Sweden'¹⁷¹ (Integrationsverket 2002(b):4). Debatably such a position – claiming to promote integration while allowing, even promoting, transnational identities – could be interpreted as contradictory and this was an issue raised in research interview questioning. Messing contended that it was the emphasis on reciprocity that squared this circle and it is interesting to note that the acceptance of dual citizenship can be seen to echo the idea of reciprocity in integration policy – both are underpinned by an acknowledgement of identity as a process. There is then a strong sense of transnationalist understandings of citizenship and identity in the Swedish case. Hermansson spoke of allowing people to properly reflect their identity and Messing argued that by doing so while nevertheless encouraging naturalisation made it easier to show that those who have immigrated aren't just guests but an integral constituent of the country: 'when one chooses to apply for citizenship one chooses the rights that exist in this country and one also maybe thinks about how one identifies oneself'. The idea of reciprocity interplays with the lack of willingness to see belonging as black or white - and to recognise identity as a process. The tone of these ideas is returned to in the comparative analysis of Chapter 8 in contrast to the UK's emphasis on 'Britishness' and an integrative *quid pro quo*.

¹⁷¹ 'vill ge människor store möjligheter att behålla kontakten med sitt ursprungsland och samtidigt underlätta integrationen i Sverige'.

Case-study Conclusions

Empirical analysis of the Swedish case materials identifies five central conceptualisations of citizenship. The first three conceptualisations connect citizenship to integration, equality and belonging and these, what have been referred to as the ‘trinity’, form a core ideational context in thinking about citizenship in Swedish policy. They are supported by two further conceptualisations that express citizenship in relation to a ‘welcoming’ symbolism and as ‘responding to a global, internationalising context’.

Chapters 4 and 5 have made clear how strongly thinking about Swedish citizenship and naturalisation policy has been influenced by long-standing approaches to *integration*. The Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship saw the potential benefits for integration as one of the crucial arguments for allowing easier access to citizenship. As this chapter has shown, the idea of integration reinforced or interplayed with all the other conceptual positions taken regarding citizenship. In addition established positions in thinking about integration offer compelling explanations of Swedish policy resistance to the introduction of citizenship testing. Integration was understood and emphasised as reciprocal, with the ambitious vision being that of Swedes and non-Swedes coming together in an evolving diversity.

At its core integration policy was about achieving Olauson’s – equally profound and banal – aim of ‘making people’s lives easier’. In this context easing naturalisation to citizenship was seen as an important signal of *equality*. Chapter 5 has noted how this built on a previous strong denizenship. Allowing dual or multiple citizenship was a way of providing access to resources and rights and challenging tiers or categories within Swedish society. Thinking about citizenship in the reforms of 2001 also appropriated the ideal of equality in arguing that the changes supported individuals’ personal dignity in allowing them to express a dual loyalty, or a complex sense of identity or *belonging*. In this way belonging completes the interlocking trinity, whose crucial role is one of the chapter’s central arguments. The emphasis in thinking about belonging and its connection to citizenship built on the themes of equality and integration by stressing the

ubiquitously sought 'trygghet' - an unthreatened sense of certainty and security. Belonging was conceptualised as 'certainty' of one's place in society and naturalisation was understood by policy as a strong aid in helping that objective. Completing the interplay of the trinity, openness to dual citizenship brought ideas about belonging, integration and equality together in providing a way to challenge the fear of succumbing to 'us and them thinking' and symbolically acknowledge the layered, multiple identities of modern Swedish society.

In interview, the head of the Division for Immigrant Integration and Diversity asserted that 'if we were to have a good society, it had to be welcoming'. In studying the case material this chapter has also argued that citizenship was conceptualised in Sweden as being about providing a '*welcoming*' *symbolism* and as *responding to a global, internationalising context*. The changes to citizenship acknowledged transnational lives and the uncertainty they could bring; and policy-makers saw a need for the state to recognise and respond to globalising circumstances and pressures. Such a position underpinned arguments about a need to challenge fixed notions of national identity. It was also seen as drawing attention to the need for symbolism. Missing spoke of positioning Sweden as 'welcoming' and more accessible citizenship was to be supported by 'welcome' ceremonies.

These conceptualisations and their ideational context are returned to in the comparative analysis of Chapter 8. First however, the thesis turns to address the second case, that of the United Kingdom.

Chapter 6. Testing for Citizenship

Policy Development in the United Kingdom

This chapter has the same function for the United Kingdom as Chapter 4 had for the Swedish case. It responds to the first of the questions posed in Chapter 1 and assesses ways in which citizenship is understood. It outlines and considers the major policy developments around citizenship and provides a foundation for the analysis of conceptualisations in Chapter 7. The period considered stretches from the election of the Labour government in 1997, across the flurry of legislation influencing citizenship that has marked this last decade to a cut-off point at the publication of the report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion in June 2007 just a fortnight before Gordon Brown took over as Prime Minister. As previously discussed, understandings of citizenship exist within a wider context of thinking about other concepts such as integration, migration and belonging and this is reflected in the material. Textual material lies at the core of this chapter's assessment. White papers, governmental strategy documents, the 'handbook' for prospective naturalising citizens and reports on citizenship and integration are all considered here. Broadly speaking the materials are brought forward chronologically although the discussion retains a thematic focus.

During the period considered the United Kingdom's approaches to naturalisation have altered substantially. Particularly important is the 2002 'Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act' based on the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*. This marked a radical shift and laid the ground for significant changes to the naturalisation process in subsequent years. UK Citizenship ceremonies were introduced in 2004 and include an oath or affirmation of allegiance to the queen and a pledge of 'loyalty to the United Kingdom' and 'its democratic values'. Also in 2004 a handbook on 'Life in the United Kingdom' was published for the first time. This was aimed at aiding the integration of immigrants and supporting individuals preparing to apply for naturalisation. Tests of English language ability and knowledge of UK society, institutions and norms – the 'Life in the UK Test' -

became compulsory for naturalising citizens in 2005. Emphasis was on a programme of studies with a ‘language-with-civic-content’ that aimed to blend institutional and societal knowledge with more practical information about everyday tasks and activities and ways of accessing help and information (Home Office 2003:13-17). From 2007 these examinations have been expanded to encompass those applying for permanent settlement. In addition, ‘citizenship’, conceptualised in a variety of ways, has played a central role in the government’s ongoing attempts to articulate a coherent policy approach to integration and cohesion both in relation to immigrants and to society as a whole. Clearly only the former of these is of direct interest to this research but the existence of overlapping ideas about ‘citizenship’ – albeit used in different contexts - has influenced the conceptualisations articulated and discussed in these two chapters.

Key documents

Six key contemporary documents lie at the heart of policy and form the backbone of this chapter’s discussion. These are, firstly, the two White Papers that have dealt substantially with immigration, citizenship and integration and led to the acts of 2002 and 2006. *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* (2002) introduced the plans for citizenship tests and ceremonies and *Controlling our borders: Making migration work for Britain* (2005) laid out the government’s five year immigration strategy, expanded the citizenship tests to those applying for settlement and introduced a points based system for individuals applying to work or study in the UK. Also assessed is *The New and the Old* (2003), the report of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group. This committee was tasked to advise the government on the framework and substance of the new naturalisation tests. Its proposals included a ‘UK handbook’ to be distributed to all new immigrants and a proficiency assessment of English language and civic and political knowledge for all citizenship applicants. The handbook itself, *Life in the United Kingdom. A Journey to Citizenship* is considered. It was published in 2004, with a second edition appearing in 2007. *Integration Matters - A National Strategy for Refugee Integration* (2005) is also deliberated. This provided a framework for the government’s support for integration projects across the UK and laid out eight

indicators of integration including ‘take-up of British citizenship’ and ‘English-language attainment’. The last of these key documents is *Our Shared Future* (2007) the final report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion. As part of a broader vision this document contended the need for a clearer sense of citizenship at both national and local level in line with a principle of strengthened rights and responsibilities.

Chapter 1 noted the rising levels of migration into the United Kingdom over the past two decades and it is crucial to note that the changes to citizenship and naturalisation policy discussed here took place in the context of increasing societal debate about diversity and integration. The ‘Parekh report’ (Runnymede Trust 2000) addressed the way in which the UK has and is evolving into an increasingly ethnically and culturally plural society. The Denham and Cantle reports responded to the riots of 2001 in northern England¹⁷² and argued for a more proactive promotion of community cohesion and the need for a clearer conceptualisation of national citizenship in order to counter the risk of disconnected ‘parallel lives’ (Home Office 2001(b): 9). Also of particular significance in contextualising subsequent policy development is the ‘Crick report’ of 1998 which led to the introduction of ‘education for citizenship’ in schools and sent a strong signal about the importance of ideas of citizenship in modern society (Crick 1998). It is important to understand these as setting the scene for subsequent developments and it is to a brief discussion of them that this chapter first turns.

From Civics to Integration - Historical Development and Principal Legislation

Growing status of ‘citizenship’

Chapter 4 discussed how integration policy in Sweden, its development, framework and ideas had strongly informed understandings of citizenship. Although citizenship and integration are conceptually linked in the UK case, the evolution of thinking about British citizenship and naturalisation policy over the past decade has not had a similarly coherent UK integration policy to turn to as a guide or

¹⁷² These riots took place between May and July 2001 principally in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford and were widely reported in terms of ethnically motivated confrontations or even as ‘race riots’. See, for example, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/1702799.stm

foundation.¹⁷³ Rather, thinking about immigrant integration in the UK has evolved alongside citizenship policy with the latter often being used explicitly as a tool in attempts to further cohesion and integration, issues that are discussed in detail below. Conceptualisations of citizenship in the United Kingdom have however been strongly influenced by the work on ‘education for citizenship’ that took place early in the Labour government’s first term. A wide-reaching and comprehensive report from the Advisory Group on Citizenship, chaired by Sir Bernard Crick, was published in 1998 and its recommendations subsequently implemented by the then Education Secretary, David Blunkett.

The Crick report’s focus and detailed proposals responded to the Advisory Group’s terms of reference, which were to provide:

‘Advice on effective education for citizenship in schools – to include the nature and practices of participation in democracy; the duties, responsibilities and rights of individuals as citizens; and the value to individuals and society of community activity.’ (Crick 1998:4)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Committee argued strongly for the introduction of citizenship education as part of the national curriculum¹⁷⁴. Of greater interest for this research is the conceptualisation of (‘good’) citizenship as being about understanding and participating in society and the idea that there is a developmental process – or journey - which an individual could go through in becoming a better citizen. The document laid out an ambitious vision of animated

¹⁷³ This position is highlighted by another governmental text from early in the period, the 2000 strategy document *Full and Equal Citizens. A strategy for the integration of refugees into the United Kingdom*. Despite its title there was almost no reference to citizenship, access to it or the application process. There was also no direct discussion or problematisation of ‘integration’ in anything other than functional terms – as being about access, information and facilitation. There was also no mention of identity or demands of societal engagement. Interestingly, the one direct reference to citizenship noted that: ‘in addition refugees may be offered the opportunity to take part in an orientation course. This would provide information on British citizenship and increase their awareness and understanding of how the main institutions and authorities in the UK work [...] many of course may feel they have no need of such support and so this *would be entirely voluntary*’ (Home Office 2000:6, my italics).

¹⁷⁴ Note that this only applies in England and Wales. But the thrust of the report also influenced changes in Scotland and Northern Ireland.

citizens engaged with and sharing a common concern for society and its democratic values: ‘We aim at no less than a change in the political culture of this country both nationally and locally: for people to think of themselves as active citizens, willing, able and equipped to have an influence in public life’ (Crick 1998:7).

The effect of *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools* was not only to stimulate debate around the value of teaching ‘civics’ to young people but also to place citizenship - its meaning and role – in a much more central political position. The sense of citizenship as relating to a content of common knowledge and values, and the idea that active engagement and understanding one's role in society could be seen as good citizenship, has provided a referential foundation for conceptualisations of citizenship and the development of UK policy on both naturalisation and citizenship more widely over the past decade. In this context it is worth pointing out, early in this discussion, the crucial way in which this continuity was underpinned by the leading role played by David Blunkett and Sir Bernard Crick. As noted, Blunkett was the Secretary of State for Education who set up the 1998 Advisory Group on Citizenship under Crick and it was during his tenure as Home Secretary (June 2001-December 2004) that the major changes to naturalisation procedures were implemented. To advise on the ‘method, conduct and implementation of a naturalisation test’ (Home Office 2003) Blunkett set up the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group, again under the chairmanship of Crick. Finally, in autumn 2004 Crick was appointed the first Chair of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) just as the citizenship ceremonies and naturalisation test were about to come on stream. The powerful influence of Blunkett and Crick’s bipartite advocacy for citizenship as a central policy issue was regularly referred to by the research interviewees and is returned to in the next chapter. What is important to acknowledge here is the continuum this provided between the initial work done under the guiding principle that ‘Citizenship education must be education for citizenship’ (Crick 1998:8) and the development of a discourse around naturalisation that described it as ‘a journey to citizenship’, where the principal concrete activity consisted of studying to improve one’s knowledge of the UK and one’s English language skills. This research is focused

upon understandings of citizenship as they relate to the naturalisation of immigrants but it is important to place the contemporary development of these conceptualisations in the earlier education work carried out. As Chris Hedges,¹⁷⁵ a senior civil servant working with the changes to naturalisation legislation ‘from day one’,¹⁷⁶ put it: ‘the links are still there, very clearly, between citizenship education in schools and what we’re aiming to do – hoping to do – with migrants’.

Common citizenship: expanding the concept

The push for the promotion of ‘citizenship’ in schooling brought the idea of citizenship to the mainstream of political discourse and raised its status. Work had already begun on the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* and changes to the naturalisation procedure before the racial violence and riots in northern England in 2001. Nevertheless the Denham and Cattle reports,¹⁷⁷ published almost concurrently and addressing community cohesion in light of that trouble, had a substantial impact in cementing the centrality of citizenship. Both reports accorded tremendous importance to ‘common citizenship’ which was presented as a way of tackling issues around identity, values and cohesion. Cattle argued that an essential aim must be the establishment of ‘a greater sense of citizenship, based on (a few) common principles which are shared and observed by all sections of the community’ (Home Office 2001(b):10). The report went on to call for ‘a meaningful concept of citizenship’ and a ‘clearer statement of allegiance’ which promoted and recognised ‘the contribution of all cultures to this Nation’s development throughout its history, but establishes a clear primary loyalty to this Nation’ (Ibid:20 (upper case ‘Nation’ in original)). However, citizenship was understood within the framework of diversity or ‘cultural pluralism’ and an ‘acceptance that we are never going to turn the clock back to what was perceived to

¹⁷⁵ Chris Hedges, the principal civil servant who worked on the legislative changes to citizenship and nationality laid out in the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*. He provided civil service support for the work of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group and the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI). He also worked on the White Paper *Controlling Our Borders* and with the handbook *Life in the UK. A Journey to Citizenship*.

¹⁷⁶ By this Hedges meant the year 2000 and this marks the start of the work that led to the 2002 White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*. It is discussed in detail below.

¹⁷⁷ The official title of the ‘Cattle Report’ was *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team*. The ‘Denham Report’ was *Building Cohesive Communities: A Report of the Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion*.

be a dominant or monoculturalist view of nationality' (Ibid:18). Denham echoed this stance arguing that 'Common citizenship does not mean cultural uniformity. Our society is multicultural, and it is shaped by the interaction between people of diverse cultures.' (Home Office 2001(a):21). Both reports referred approvingly to the forthcoming introduction of citizenship in the school curricula from September 2002 as the Crick report was implemented. They contended that the wider agenda of community cohesion and the issues raised around it should both inform citizenship education and learn from it. Denham was perhaps most explicit in linking the diverse strands of government policy being associated with 'citizenship':

'We also take on board the need to generate a widespread and open debate about identity, shared values, and common citizenship as part of the process of building cohesive communities. This debate will feed into the citizenship education programme, and proposals to promote the common rights and responsibilities around citizenship for those seeking residence in this country.' (Home Office 2001(a):3)

The impact of the three reports – Crick, Denham and Cante - on citizenship and the way in which it is conceptualised can arguably be seen to be threefold. Firstly, they pushed the concept itself into the mainstream of political and policy debate. The promotion of a 'sense of citizenship' as good in education and an appropriate part of the response to concerns about integration and community cohesion meant that the status of citizenship, both as a buzzword and as a quality, was raised and in turn able to underpin the further two effects. Secondly, and relatedly then, an understanding of 'citizenship' as something positive and supportive of integration and cohesion gained ground and thirdly, the reports created an understanding of citizenship as a quality that was connected to both societal activity and knowledge. These themes provided a conceptual foundation to the work that followed.

Life in the UK – Values, Britishness, Cohesion

New citizenship legislation

Six key documents were outlined above and the UK has seen a number of strategies and pieces of legislation that have influenced citizenship.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, if there is one single most important piece of legislation, which may be seen as having some equivalent significance to Sweden's 2001 law, it is the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act. Based on *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* this bill substantially changed the naturalisation route. It introduced citizenship ceremonies and through the creation of a requirement of 'sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom' for naturalising citizens laid the foundation for the subsequent examinations of language and societal knowledge.¹⁷⁹

British nationality law is widely recognised as being complex and fractured. As a result of empire, six types of British nationality exist.¹⁸⁰ However, only those holding 'British citizenship' have the automatic right to apply for a UK passport and to live and be employed in the United Kingdom and it is this type of British nationality (the overwhelmingly predominant form) which is considered here. Before the 2002 Act naturalisation to citizenship for foreign residents of the United Kingdom had been straightforward. Following a period of five years residency an individual could apply for naturalisation providing they had not been convicted of a criminal offence and could provide a letter from an 'upstanding member of the

¹⁷⁸ One other document is worth mentioning briefly here as a comparison with the tone that developed in conceptualisations of citizenship as the period progressed. The 1998 White Paper *Fairer, Faster, Firmer – A modern approach to immigration and asylum* was principally about overhauling management of the immigration system but the document did contain a very brief section entitled 'encouraging citizenship'. As concrete policy action this did not go beyond a commitment 'to reduce waiting times for applications'. However the document does provide an interesting record of how official UK policy saw citizenship at that time: 'the acquisition of the nationality of the country in which immigrants are living is a mark of their integration into British society. Our nationality legislation seeks to ease immigrants into acquiring citizenship by not placing unnecessary obstacles in their way' (Home Office 1998).

¹⁷⁹ This impression was reinforced in the interviews where this document was highlighted by many; Hedges called it 'the key bit of legislation'. Interestingly, he also stated (in December 2007) that *The New and the Old* continued to be the 'conceptual base' for the promotion of integration in interplay with citizenship.

¹⁸⁰ Although the framework of these different nationalities is under review. For up-to-date information or details of the other forms of British nationality see www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk For a description and discussion of nationality laws development and legal twists and turns see for example Hansen 2000(b) or Dummett 2006.

community’ – often a police officer – confirming an understanding of English. *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* broke this tradition and added a new formality to the route to naturalisation. In addition, alongside the practical introduction of naturalisation tests and ceremonies, it bolstered more formally the sort of understandings of citizenship outlined in the reports discussed above. A better comprehension of UK society by immigrants and ‘a fuller appreciation of the civic and political dimensions of British citizenship’ would both boost the ‘value and significance’ of naturalisation and ‘help to strengthen active participation in the democratic process and a sense of belonging to a wider community’ (Home Office 2002: 29). The flagged shift towards ‘preparing people for’ and ‘celebrating the acquisition of’ citizenship was the major theme of the White Paper in relation to the naturalisation process and in response to this the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group was set up in September 2002.

A wider citizenship agenda – commitment, belonging and integration in ‘a changing society’

The Advisory Group had a specific remit – to counsel on the ‘method, conduct and implementation’ of a naturalisation test. However, in their final report they also gave a clear indication of both the wider context in which citizenship was being understood and of the broader role envisioned for it. On the first page of *The New and the Old* the Advisory Group argued that their work could be seen ‘as falling within five broader aims of government’. These were: ‘a wider citizenship agenda; enhancing the significance of British citizenship; encouraging community cohesion; valuing diversity; and creating a greater sense of mutual respect, support and belonging’ (Home Office 2003: 3). The promotion of ‘a wider citizenship agenda’ was concretised in the further aims discussed by the Advisory Group. Citizenship was to be seen as intrinsically good, as something significant and of status. It was also instrumentally useful in aiding cohesion, integration and belonging; and in saying something symbolic about the acceptance of a modern, multicultural UK. The education policy developments outlined above can also be seen as part of this agenda. In considering the Advisory Group’s report, *Secure*

Borders, Safe Haven and the handbook *Life in the United Kingdom*, these aims interestingly provide a foretaste of the themes that emerge from the material.

‘Becoming a British citizen is a significant life event. The Government intends to make gaining British citizenship meaningful and celebratory rather than simply a bureaucratic process’; so proclaimed David Blunkett¹⁸¹ as he set up the Advisory Group in 2002 (Life in the UK Advisory Group 2004: 3). This had been a strong theme in the White Paper earlier in the year where it was argued that citizenship’s importance needed to be heightened and highlighted. Contending that ‘becoming a British citizen is a significant step which should mean more than simply obtaining the right to a British passport’ or the attainment of full political rights *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* argued that ‘British citizenship should bring with it a heightened commitment to full participation in British society and a recognition of the part which new citizens can play in contributing to social cohesion’ (Home Office 2002: 30). The perceived need to enhance the status of citizenship and foster celebration of its acquisition acted as one of the central arguments for introducing tests and ceremonies. The significance of citizenship meant that those wishing to naturalise needed to prepare for it. In *The New and the Old* the Advisory Group described study for the citizenship exam as ‘essential preparations for active participation’ (Home Office 2003:10). Improving one’s English language abilities and knowledge of UK society and civic structures was argued by the White Paper to be a ‘fundamental objective of the Government [so] that those living permanently in the UK should be able [...] to take their place fully in society’ (Home Office 2002:32).

Thus, intertwined with an understanding of citizenship as of intrinsic significance was an instrumental conceptualisation of the symbolic membership of citizenship as also aiding community cohesion and the ‘participation’ of individuals in – presumably worthy - societal activities. Improved integration lay at the heart of citizenship’s instrumentality and this goal was again used to make the case for the

¹⁸¹ David Blunkett, Home Secretary June 2001-December 2004. Secretary of State for Education and Employment, May 1997-June 2001.

introduction of the test and the importance of knowledge of English. *The New and the Old* stated that the ‘use of the English language is possibly the most important means of diverse communities participating in a common culture with key values in common’ (Home Office 2003:11). Interestingly, in this document discussions of citizenship’s role in supporting integration lay alongside an attempt to consider ‘who are we British?’ and what Britishness might mean. Describing the UK as a multinational state and a multicultural society ‘made up of a diverse range of cultures and identities’ the Advisory Group emphasised identities as flexible, changing and multi-layered. Although they addressed ‘Britishness’ in an explicit way, it was considered in broad inclusive terms as being about respect for others and ‘those over-arching specific institutions, values, beliefs and traditions that bind us all’ (Ibid:10-11). David Blunkett had stated that he wished for those naturalising to UK citizenship to ‘have a sense of belonging to a wider community’ and this perhaps provoked the need for the advisory group to be clear that ‘to be British does not mean assimilation into a common culture so that original identities are lost’ (Ibid:8 & 11). Indeed, the report’s civic understanding of the link between citizenship and integration was expressed a little later through recognition of naturalisation as both a concrete change in legal status and a less precise, yet tangible process of increasing belonging in wider society:

‘Civil and political integration refer to citizenship both as a formal status denoted by nationality laws, and as a process of inclusion in, and the acceptance of, the key institutions of modern society such as the welfare state and the political system.’ (Home Office 2003:25)

Also worthy of note was the way in which the Advisory Group’s discussion of ‘integration’ as ‘mutual respect and tolerance [...] continual interaction, engagement and civic participation’ (Ibid:12) imitated the discussion of the qualities of ‘Britishness’ and the characteristics of ‘good’ citizenship. In contrast to Swedish conceptualisations, which linked integration and citizenship with ideas of belonging grounded in common equality, the discourse of the UK documents associated them with understandings of belonging grounded in common values.

Secure Borders, Safe Haven pledged the government to ‘initiate an open and constructive debate about citizenship, civic identity and shared values’ (Home Office 2002:10). Again these ‘values’ echoed ‘Britishness’ or the idea of the successfully integrated citizen by being about respecting the ‘equal worth and dignity of all our citizens [...and] engag[ing] as active citizens in economic, social and political life’. Indeed the White Paper went as far as to state that ‘it will sometimes be necessary to confront some cultural practices which conflict with these basic values – such as those which deny women the right to participate as equal citizens (Ibid:30).

The new edition of the citizenship handbook states that ‘although Britain is one of the world’s most diverse societies, most people believe that there should be a set of shared values with which everyone can agree’ (Home Office 2007: 107). Values lie at the heart of the citizenship ceremonies where naturalising citizens pledge to uphold the UK’s ‘democratic values’ and in recent years a number of government ministers, not least Gordon Brown, have attempted to articulate what ‘values’ are associated with ‘Britishness’.¹⁸² These contributions have been criticised for their perceived blandness and general talk of catch-all British values of ‘fairness’, ‘tolerance’ and ‘responsibility’. Nevertheless, what is interesting is the attempt to promote an understanding of both ‘Britishness’ and UK citizenship as bounded only by a set of desirable civic norms. Citizenship is presented as non-ethnic and contextualised within an increasingly pluralist UK society. Indeed, *The New and the Old* proposed that one of the six categories of study for the naturalisation test should be ‘Britain as a multicultural society’ (Home Office 2003: 15). This was watered down in the handbook itself to the chapter ‘A Changing Society’ although it is still worthy of note that the first examinable section that prospective citizens are faced with is entitled ‘Migration to Britain’.¹⁸³ The linking of Britishness to diversity by the Advisory Group was highlighted above and this built on the strong

¹⁸² A prime example of this is Gordon Brown’s much-publicised speech to the Fabian Society in January 2006 entitled ‘The Future of Britishness’. It is available at <http://fabians.org.uk/events/speeches/the-future-of-britishness>

¹⁸³ This comes at the start of Chapter 2 in the handbook. Chapter 1, a historical overview of the UK does not (at time of writing) form part of the naturalisation examination.

statement made in *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* which in turn echoed some of the language of the Denham report:

‘Common citizenship is not about cultural uniformity, nor is it born out of some narrow and out-dated view of what it means to be ‘British’. The Government welcomes the richness of the cultural diversity which immigrants have brought to the UK – our society is multi-cultural, and is shaped by its diverse peoples. We want British citizenship positively to embrace the diversity of background, culture and faiths that is one of the hallmarks of Britain in the 21st Century.’ (Home Office 2002: 29)

Such a recognition of the way in which society and its character evolves sits concurrently with a common conceptualisation of citizenship in the UK material as the result of a ‘journey’ or process of preparation for naturalising citizens. This understanding of the requirement of gaining the necessary knowledge and skills to be a successful British citizen is clearly linked in the work of the 2002 White Paper and the Advisory Group’s report to the objective of stressing the consequence and significance of citizenship. Indeed, the citizenship handbook’s full title is *Life in the United Kingdom. A Journey to Citizenship* and in the foreword to the 2007 edition the then Home Secretary John Reid writes of the ceremonies as ‘celebrating the achievement of new Britons in becoming citizens’ (Home Office 2007: 3). This logic of a journey to citizenship as being about an integration process of acquiring practical and factual knowledge of the UK and understanding of British norms has continued and expanded in the years following the implementation of the naturalisation tests and ceremonies. The strategy document *Integration Matters* emphasised English language knowledge and naturalisation rates as two of its indicators. The White Paper *Controlling our borders* expanded on the rationale of a ‘journey’ to citizenship for migrants by widening the requirements for societal and language knowledge to those applying for permanent residency as a stage in their integration. Lastly, *Our Shared Future* in arguing the case for a more manifest understanding of citizenship – as active and participatory – across society, expanded the metaphor stating that ‘To achieve an integrated and cohesive society

involves a journey' (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007: 5). It is to these documents this discussion now turns.

Embedding citizenship

Controlling Our Borders, *Integration Matters* and *Our Shared Future* differ from *Secure Borders*, *Safe Haven* and *The New and the Old* in that, with the exception of some brief sections, they do not explicitly address the processes of naturalisation. Rather they deal principally with concerns about managing, respectively, immigration, the integration of refugees, and social cohesion in a diverse society. Nevertheless, what is interesting about this material is the way in which they can arguably be seen to embed the importance of citizenship in - what might be broadly termed - UK integration policy. The documents also reinforce the sort of understandings of British citizenship addressed above – as supportive of integration and an aid to a sense of common values and belonging; as something significant that requires preparation and active participation; and as a status which is unlinked to ethnicity and acts as a unifying bond for a plural society.

In discussion of integration initiatives *Integration Matters* flagged up the initiation of citizenship ceremonies and the introduction of the tests as 'a further push towards integration of all permanent migrants to the UK' (Home Office 2005(b):9). And in a section called 'Refugees into citizens' now familiar ideas were reiterated:

'The Government believes strongly that the granting of British citizenship should not be seen as a legal formality, but as a positive event for celebration – and one which should in itself contribute to the integration of new arrivals into British society. It has already established new citizenship ceremonies, where groups of new Britons (whether refugees or not) formally take on the rights and responsibilities of citizens in an atmosphere of national and civic pride.' (Home Office 2005(b):67)

Controlling Our Borders also spoke positively of the benefits of naturalisation. In light of the claimed successes of the previous years' citizenship policy initiatives

the White Paper announced that there would be a future requirement on those applying for permanent settlement to sit a residence test. Consultation with the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) led to the decision that the test for permanent settlement would be the same examination of English language and societal knowledge as the citizenship test and it was implemented in the spring of 2007. Interestingly, the White Paper was explicit about the aim of bringing the ‘requirements [of permanent settlement] much closer to the rights and obligations of full citizenship’ (Home Office 2005(a):22) and this might be read as a shifting of some of the duties associated with naturalisation downwards to a status of denizenship. Despite – or perhaps in line with - this, the document further entrenched the idea of citizenship as a central concept and instrument of integration in the modern UK’s diverse society:

‘The Government will strongly encourage those who have permanent status to make a commitment to the UK by accepting the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. [...] We want to develop among migrants and the settled population a stronger sense of social participation and shared values.’ (Home Office 2005(a):22)

Although not directly concerned with recent migrants, the work of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion, which climaxed in the *Our Shared Future* report, also emphasised the place of citizenship in promoting the now familiar UK concerns of participation, common values and a sense of social cohesion and belonging. The Commission articulated a very wide understanding of citizenship as about belonging and participation at both a local and national level. Indeed in *Our Shared Future* ‘citizenship’ becomes almost a panacea; its perceived broad utility is plain:

‘[...] we need to openly debate forms of citizenship that prioritise integration and cohesion. Our proposal therefore is that we use integration and cohesion policy to generate a working sense of citizenship that is based on a set of rights and responsibilities appropriate for the changing

UK of the 21st century, and one that chimes at a national as well as local level.’ (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007:62)

In Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the development of citizenship policy and approaches to naturalisation in the United Kingdom during the period from 1997-2007. It has assessed the key policy documents and has shown that the crucial shift in citizenship policy came in a core phase early in the decade. This was centred around the 2002 White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* and the subsequent implementation of the measures it introduced – citizenship ceremonies and ‘Life in the UK’ tests for naturalising citizens. The chapter drew attention to the way citizenship grew as a policy concept during the period and became associated with a broad social agenda. Citizenship was linked with wider governmental aims to support societal cohesion and integration, encourage belonging, and symbolically connect to ideas of a modern, diverse UK. A foundational idea was that of emphasising a common citizenship and highlighting its ‘status’; and legislation firmed up a perceived need for formality and significance through the test and ceremonies. Relatedly, the chapter has shown how the period also saw the development of thinking about ‘common values’ as a way of adding substance - and the sought after status - to citizenship. The metaphor of a ‘journey’ to citizenship was also increasingly utilised with a similar purpose. It provided ideational weight and significance to the process of naturalisation and supported the objective of both embedding citizenship as an important societal concept and connecting it ever more tightly with integration approaches and aims. The themes discussed here are taken forward in different ways in the analyses of the following chapters. Firstly, Chapter 7 proceeds to draw out and identify the key conceptualisations of citizenship found in the UK case.

Chapter 7. UK Case-Study Analysis

Conceptualisations of Citizenship

The discussion in the previous chapter laid out the way in which citizenship policy has evolved in the United Kingdom and the issues that surround that development. As in the Swedish case, processes associated with globalisation such as increasing migration and greater diversity framed the changes. However, in the UK the transformation of citizenship policy was also contextualised as a response to societal tensions between ethnic groups and as an educational programme. Chapter 6 assessed how policy attempted to boost the status of citizenship with the introduction and expansion of tests and ceremonies and a strong emphasis placed on knowledge of English for naturalising citizens. With that discussion as a foundation, this chapter develops an analysis of the understandings and conceptualisations of citizenship apparent in the UK material, both from texts and research interviews.

Certain themes emerged strongly in the previous chapter. As discussed earlier, the grounded theory tenets of this work means that a pre-defined matrix of expected understandings has been avoided. Instead emphasis is placed on strong use of the empirical material in the process of category generation; and it is the conceptualisations that originate in and emerge from the primary material which steer the structure of the subsequent analysis. Five central understandings of citizenship – and the naturalisation process – come out powerfully in the material. These are of citizenship:

- As integrative
- As about belonging
- As embracing diversity (non-ethnic)
- As about common values
- As a ‘journey’

Similarly to the Swedish case, interplaying ideas about *integration* and *belonging* lie at the heart of British thinking about citizenship. ‘Equality’, the third key way of conceiving citizenship and which formed the ‘trinity’ so apparent in the Swedish case, was not salient in any key way in the UK. Rather, integration and belonging form a bipolar core, not in the sense of opposite extremes but as two fundamentally interlocked conceptualisations which provide an axis around which other phenomena align themselves. There are three other strongly identifiable understandings of citizenship that interact with ideas of integration and belonging. The conceptualisation of citizenship as *embracing diversity* refers to the way in which UK citizenship is robustly articulated as unrelated to ethnicity and as open to a plural society. Discussion of *common values* is an attempt to give citizenship some sort of ‘content’ shared by all. Lastly, analysis of the material shows citizenship commonly expressed as a significant reward and often expressed as being about societal participation, whether through the workplace, community involvement or just being able to communicate in English. The idea promoted is that naturalisation requires preparation, and the achievement and reward of citizenship is expressed as the end of a metaphorical ‘*journey*’.

In the research interview Wintour¹⁸⁴ identified the policy vision of Blunkett and Crick as promoting citizenship ‘as a key driver of all sorts of things in the UK. Around cohesion, around national identity, as a key part of the glue that holds us all together’. Blunkett himself emphasised the link citizenship provided between integration, identity and values and analysis of the material produces a complex picture of the way in which the five conceptualisations overlies and interplay with one another. All of the five understandings express what citizenship is about, what its meaning is. Three operate also as objectives, about what citizenship can provide and achieve: a sense of integration, belonging and a sharing of common values. The remaining two act more to describe the (desired) essence and character of UK citizenship: as embracing diversity and as a significant journey.

¹⁸⁴ Patrick Wintour, Vice Chair (acting Chair at time of interview) of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and Chair of its Business sub-group. Director of the Employability Forum, established in 2001 to promote refugee employment and member of the Borders Agency Corporate Stakeholder Group.

Additionally, as in the Swedish case, there are tensions and areas of debate that come up in parallel with discussions around citizenship and how it is conceived. ‘Britishness’ and national understandings, the economic impact of migrants and the wider citizenship agenda of ‘civics’ in schools are examples of issues that surround the discourses of citizenship’s meaning. As this analysis works systematically through each of the five conceptualisations of citizenship such tensions are addressed as they arise.

Before proceeding a further couple of points must be noted in this introduction. Firstly, that in a substantial distinction from the Swedish case, discussion of dual citizenship has not played any more than a very minor role in UK debates or policy developments. As Dummett writes in her broad historical assessment, this is because ‘the UK has always tolerated plural nationality’¹⁸⁵ (Dummett 2006:552). Hansen describes the UK’s history of a leniently indifferent, ‘even cavalier’ attitude to dual citizenship in an article aptly entitled ‘The dog that didn’t bark’ (Hansen 2002). Dual citizenship is only rarely referred to in the UK material but this *laissez faire* view can nevertheless be seen to influence conceptualisations of how citizenship relates to belonging and diversity. This point is discussed below.

A second point worth raising here is the way ‘assessment for citizenship’ as part of the naturalisation process has been accepted and embedded in UK policy discourse. This mirrors the way in which dual citizenship is now taken for granted in Sweden. Original opposition has dissipated and even those critical of the multiple-choice test model or of its extension to a condition for settlement seem positive, or at worst neutral, to some form of assessment. The reality of assessment has stimulated thinking about citizenship as a process which sees individuals progress towards naturalisation. This is apparent in the conceptualisation of citizenship as a ‘journey’ and is examined below.

¹⁸⁵ Albeit that this is with the caveat that there were ‘some limitations between 1870 and 1948’ [!] (Dummett 2006:52). Hansen also identifies this period and describes it as when ‘the government officially opposed dual nationality in certain instances, but the civil service (and above all the Foreign Office) facilitated it in practice (Hansen 2002:182).

The UK Foundation: Integration and Belonging (as identity)

(1) *Citizenship as integrative*

The understanding of citizenship as playing an integrative role articulates the overarching objective of recent citizenship policy developments. The other conceptualisations of citizenship all support the view of it as interlinked with and aiding integration and this is a theme to which this chapter consistently returns. Thus, this section focuses on the way in which this intertwining has developed, the way in which ‘integration’ itself is conceived, how integration as an aim has driven the citizenship test regime and the growing emphasis on language knowledge and citizenship ceremonies.

Naturalisation and the processes around it have become a fundamental part of the government’s attempts to promote the integration of immigrants. Hedges spoke in the research interview of the acquisition of citizenship as being ‘perhaps the culmination of integration’. Another senior Home Office official¹⁸⁶ opined that the ‘decision to take nationality can be seen as proxy measure for identification with this country’. This is very much a result of the policy reforms of recent years. Crick¹⁸⁷ told of how both he and Blunkett were astonished as they began their work to discover that the ‘idea of the formality of citizenship seemed completely divorced from any idea of integration’. They set out to change this and a common observation from interviewees was about Blunkett’s concern with integration and inclusion in his position as Home Secretary. In the research interview he himself stated that he saw *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* (which laid the ground for citizenship tests and ceremonies) as principally about promoting social cohesion and a sense of belonging.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Senior Home Office official’, former head of Social Policy Unit within Immigration and Nationality Directorate (now the Borders Agency). Civil service ‘sponsor’ of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI). Responsible for the production of *Integration Matters – A National Strategy for Refugee Integration*.

¹⁸⁷ Professor Sir Bernard Crick, Chairman of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group and principal author of the 2003 report, *The New and the Old. The report of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group*. First Chairman of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) from November 2004-May 2005. Chairman of the Advisory Group on Citizenship and principal author of the 1998 report *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools* (‘The Crick Report’).

In the policy material integration and citizenship are promoted as mutually supporting means to a more cohesive society characterised by citizen participation. *Integration Matters* top strategic aim was ‘to enable refugees to begin the process of integration swiftly’ and it goes on to state that ‘ultimately, the strategy seeks to help as many refugees as possible to take up citizenship of the UK’ (Home Office 2005(b):15). In the same document the citizenship tests are described as ‘a powerful driver of integration’ (Ibid:69) and the sense of interplay is strong. On the one hand, integration will open up the pathway to citizenship. On the other the document discusses the aim to ‘ensure that citizenship helps to drive forward the integration of newcomers, including refugees into British society’ (Ibid.).

Often a multifaceted view of citizenship is presented with both the status change of naturalisation and the participative benefits of ‘active’ citizenship emphasised. The 2002 White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* emphasised the link between acquiring British citizenship and strengthening ‘active participation in the democratic process’ and went on to argue that going through the process of naturalisation was ‘an important step in the process of achieving integration into our society’ (Home Office 2002:29 & 32). This White Paper laid the ground, of course, for the creation of citizenship tests and ceremonies and the formation of the ‘Life in the UK’ Advisory Group to provide a framework for these tests. As noted in Chapter 6 the Advisory Group made a point of noting how their objectives supported broader articulated aims of the government in ‘encouraging community cohesion’, ‘valuing diversity’, ‘enhancing the significance of British citizenship’ and ‘creating a greater sense of mutual respect, support and belonging’ (Home Office 2003:3).

Hedges described the Advisory Group’s 2003 report, *The New and the Old*, as ‘the conceptual base’ for linking citizenship and integration. It was noted above that distinct aspects of citizenship may be emphasised in theoretical discussion (or indeed in particular historical periods) and *The New and the Old* argued that ‘The two senses of “citizenship”, as nationality defined by law and as participation in public life, should support each other’ (Ibid:9). In the UK discourse both these

senses – ‘legal’ and ‘active’ citizenship - are linked to integration and interestingly this relationship is reinforced in a synchronised understanding of integration as citizenship. The Advisory Group approvingly cited a Cabinet Office Strategy Unit report *Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market* which states that ‘Civil and political integration refer to citizenship both as a formal status denoted by nationality laws, and as a process of inclusion in, and the acceptance of, the key institutions of modern society such as the welfare state and the political system’ (Ibid:25). Such an understanding of citizenship continued and ABNI’s 2006 ‘annual report’ explicitly talks of the policy objective that the ‘two senses of citizenship were to come together: that of being a legal citizen of a state and also a participative citizen’ (ABNI 2006:i).

Crucial here is the way in which citizenship policy promotes the idea of inclusion as aiding integration. This continued in the Advisory Group’s thinking about the handbook, which was promoted in *The New and the Old* as having the dual purpose of providing both basic information for recent arrivals and a programme of study for those wishing to progress towards permanent residence and apply for citizenship in the UK. In considering the approach to assessment the Advisory Group made a strong case, which was accepted and implemented by government, that this should not be to a fixed and absolute level but should rather appraise an applicant’s ‘*progress* in developing language skills’ (Home Office 2003:20, italics in original). The Advisory Group argued that ‘the object of assessment is educative and integrative’ and that an assessment to an arbitrary standard would act as a disincentive and risk the objective of bringing as many applicants as possible into ‘educational provision which can contribute greatly to integration’ (Ibid.).

The handbook itself was and is seen as a strong integrative tool and the Advisory Group argued that it should be as widely distributed as possible. Maintaining that first impressions and accessibility are crucial the Advisory Group appealed for the handbook to be made available free of charge (Ibid:18-19). They also contended that the handbook could make ‘a significant contribution to integration policies for both old and new arrivals *whether or not* they are eligible and have decided to

apply for citizenship' (Ibid:18, italics in original). Although the plea for the handbook to be free was ignored, since its release in 2005 the Handbook has outsold any other HMSO publication and by spring 2007 had retailed more than a quarter of a million copies.

The role of the handbook was, of course, to support the assessment of knowledge of the English language and of life in the UK, now necessary for naturalising citizens. In the research interview Blunkett made clear just how central the test was in his thinking about how promotion of the status of citizenship supported integration:

'Consequently when I became Home Secretary it was absolutely critical to do a *quid pro quo*. So that people who were either in this country as new immigrants or who were coming into the country for the first time, either as economic migrants or asylum seekers, actually felt that there was something they had to understand and achieve – whether it was about understanding being a citizen and the institutions and constitution of the country or the language which enabled them to communicate.'

Intriguingly, aspiration to citizenship was then viewed as good citizenship. Naturalisation was conceived by Blunkett as a process of give and take, as a *quid pro quo*. The host society accepted the immigrant and in turn he or she was expected to engage in an integrative journey to citizenship. As Blunkett put it in his foreword to *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* 'those coming into our country have duties that they need to understand and which facilitate their acceptance and integration' (Home Office 2002: 4).

Such language could be interpreted as promoting a view of integration as assimilation and in *The New and the Old* the Advisory Group took care to explicitly distance themselves from any such accusation:

‘ “Integration” is a word used by many but often understood very differently. When we use it we mean neither assimilation nor a society composed of, as it were, separate enclaves, whether voluntary or involuntary. Integration means not simply mutual respect and tolerance between different groups but continual interaction, engagement and civic participation, whether in social, cultural, educational, professional, political or legal spheres. The basis of good citizenship is how we behave towards each other collectively.’ (Home Office 2003:12)

This position was reinforced by a senior civil servant within the Home Office who in referring to *Integration Matters* stated that there was recognition of the need to draw back from a ‘maximalist view of integration as assimilationist’¹⁸⁸. Nevertheless, some tensions did and do plainly exist. In the research interview Crick countered any suggestion of the citizenship policy changes advancing an assimilationist position. He argued that there was room for different senses of identity – for example, ‘an Irish Catholic’ - alongside a sense of being British as ‘a strong but a very narrow concept; [relating to] the laws, parliament, a civic culture’. However, in his interview, discussing the aims of the legislation grounded in *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*, Blunkett was much more expansive. Contextualising the changes as responding to the challenges of migration and globalisation he spoke of the need for social cohesion ‘to the identity that I wanted people to feel; as indigenous members of the community and as people coming in to make their life in the community’. He went on:

‘That issue of identity, because of the changes I’ve just described, became more critical than ever. Because even if identity with the nation-state had diminished over the years since the colonial era, actually the identity – who am I, what do I stand for, what is my history, what is my place in society – had held for a very long-time.’

¹⁸⁸ To emphasise this point the official described a *Private Eye* cartoon showing caricatures of immigrants in foreign dress going in one side of an ‘integration machine’ and coming out of the other in pinstripe suits and bowler hats (seemingly ‘typically British’!). The official was clear that this ‘was not the model they were trying to promote’ [!].

Thus citizenship and the new processes for naturalisation were conceived both as related to integration and in turn to belonging. It is to the latter of these conceptualisations that the chapter now turns.

(2) Citizenship as belonging (as identity)

In his foreword to *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* Blunkett argued that ‘to enable integration to take place, and to value the diversity it brings, we need to be secure within our sense of belonging and identity and therefore to be able to reach out and to embrace those who come to the UK’ (Home Office 2002:3). Understandings of citizenship as linked to belonging and identity play an important role in the UK case. In the Swedish case citizenship conceived in relation to belonging interlocked with ideas of equality and integration in emphasizing a sense of security and impartiality for the immigrant or naturalizing citizen. Identity principally played a role only in so far as the legislation and policy-makers recognised the possibility of complex or multiple identities – a substantial issue in the Swedish dual citizenship reforms. Belonging was presented as principally about inclusion. In the UK case identity as ‘Britishness’ plays a much more important part in understandings of citizenship as belonging. Analysis of the primary material shows that discourses around belonging and citizenship touch on four main and interplaying themes: the bond between belonging and integration; the content or meaning of ‘Britishness’; the evolution of identity in a plural society and the ‘values’ that go alongside a sense of integration and belonging in the UK. The last of these is discussed in a specific section below. The other three themes are tackled here.

The role of citizenship in supporting integration was assessed above and both naturalisation and a broader sense of ‘good’ citizenship are seen as an aid to belonging. It is perhaps here that the development of contemporary UK citizenship policy is most plain. Chapter 6 discussed the importance of the 1998 Crick report in introducing citizenship to the school curriculum and it was common amongst the research interviewees to link the evolving thinking about naturalisation procedures to the ideal of political literacy and a better understanding of ourselves and our society. In discussing his own influence and ideas, Blunkett stated that:

‘I thought, firstly, we need to understand ourselves and have strength in our own identity and sense of ourselves. And secondly, we need to ensure that people coming in understand British identity, understand the importance of citizenship and therefore make a contribution to their own welcome and their own well-being.’

Comprehension and empathy towards ‘British identity’ was viewed then - not least by the Home Secretary - as beneficial for integration and the status of citizenship. Such views about the importance of a sense of identity *as* a sense of belonging have meant that policy has, to a degree, needed to grapple with ‘Britishness’. To a certain extent this has been met with some anxiety. In the research interviews Castelino¹⁸⁹ talked of the difficulties of attempting to ‘know what British identity is’, while Wilson¹⁹⁰ spoke of it as ‘elusive and diverse’. There was a widespread concurrence that attempts at definition were likely to fail, with Crick arguing that a search ‘for what is uniquely British [is like] searching for a blue rose’ and even Blunkett talking of Britishness and identity as ‘like a gas’ – one can sense it’s there but can’t quite get a hold of it. Despite this awareness, in the research interview, Blunkett was willing to talk directly about Britishness as a combination of history, place and culture, sitting alongside values common to western democracies, which describe ‘the essence of their citizenship’. In perhaps the most coherent attempt to come to terms with the concept, *The New and the Old* wrote of Britishness as respect for overarching ‘institutions, values, beliefs and traditions’ but was careful to accentuate that ‘we neither need to define “Britishness” too precisely, nor to redefine [it]’ (Home Office 2003:11).

Interestingly then citizenship seems to be used as a way of providing some purchase to the idea of ‘Britishness’, most notably in relation to values (this is discussed in the section below). At times the problem with the challenge of definition has even meant citizenship being used almost as a synonym for ‘Britishness’. In discussing the work of the Commission on Integration and

¹⁸⁹ Celine Castelino, member of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and Chair of the Welsh sub-group.

¹⁹⁰ Jean Wilson, member of the ABNI and (at time of interview) Chair of ABNI Scotland.

Cohesion, Clarke¹⁹¹ explained how the group ‘were looking for an overarching identity [...but] they couldn’t quite get into the Britishness thing – and in fact some of them didn’t want to – and so citizenship became that kind of umbrella term for belonging to something bigger’.

As noted by the interviewees, part of the problem of ‘Britishness’ lies of course in the impossibility of definition. However, there was also a tension in the UK discourse between citizenship being conceived as belonging - understood as identity - and the recognition in UK policy and amongst policy-makers of changing patterns of identity. Dual citizenship was not a key or explicit issue in the way it was in the Swedish case, although it seems rational to explain this by the fact that minds had not been concentrated in the same way by specific legislation on the issue. Nevertheless, as noted above, the UK has historically tolerated dual citizenship and when it was rarely referred to it was in unproblematic, even positive terms:

‘The UK has long accepted the concept of dual nationality. People are not forced to give up their original citizenship in order to become British. We recognise that people will often retain a strong affinity with their country of origin. As the 1998 White Paper put it, ‘it is therefore possible to be a citizen of two countries and a good citizen of both’.’ (Home Office 2002:30)¹⁹²

In the research interview Ohri¹⁹³ spoke of dual citizenship as ‘where the future lies – in multiple identity, [where one is] more at ease with oneself’; and arguably policy’s relaxed attitude to dual citizenship supports what Anderson¹⁹⁴ described as

¹⁹¹ Elise Clarke, senior and coordinating civil servant supporting the Commission on Integration and Cohesion. Responsible for the production of *Our Shared Future*, the Commission’s final report.

¹⁹² The 1998 White Paper cited was *Fairer, Faster and Firmer: a modern approach to immigration and asylum*.

¹⁹³ Ashok Ohri, member of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group and of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI). Also a member of ABNI Scotland.

¹⁹⁴ David Anderson, senior civil servant who worked as the ‘research and analysis lead’ for the Commission on Integration and Cohesion and in the production of *Our Shared Future*, the Commission’s final report.

contemporary ‘recognition of more complex, multiple identities’. Another senior Home Office official stated that while ministers would certainly ‘wish for a willingness to identify with Britain’ there was ‘an acceptance of dual or hyphenated identity’.¹⁹⁵ There is then an identifiable tension in the UK discourse around citizenship and its conceptualisation in relation to belonging and identity. On the one hand integration is linked to identity and ‘Britishness’ acts as a focal concept in policy, in a way that ‘Swedishness’ is not in the Swedish case.¹⁹⁶ But concurrently there is recognition of the impracticality of attempts to be definitive about ‘Britishness’ and of the broad diversity that characterises UK society.

Diversity, ‘Common Values’ and Naturalisation as a ‘Journey’

(3) Citizenship as embracing diversity (non-ethnic)

In policy documents the UK is regularly referred to as a ‘multi-ethnic’ political community and citizenship of the UK is argued to be without an ethnic dimension. *Controlling our Borders* stresses that the aim of policy is to ‘strongly encourage’ uptake of citizenship and goes on to emphatically state that ‘British nationality has never been associated with membership of a particular ethnic group. For centuries we have been a multi-ethnic nation. This diversity is a source of pride’ (Home Office 2005(a):22).¹⁹⁷

Interestingly Sales describes *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* as attempting to create ‘a new fiction or ‘imagined community’ of the British population’ (Sales 2005:457) and this attempt to define the state and its members as complex and heterogeneous is a recurring theme in policy. This is quite commonly based on the argument that diversity is built into the foundations of the UK, constructed as it is of four

¹⁹⁵ As evidence of this, the Home Office official cited census categorisations and ethnic monitoring forms which in recent years have substantially expanded the number of identities or group memberships it is possible for an individual to choose.

¹⁹⁶ There is however a popular interest in ‘Swedishness’. Amongst others this has been expressed in recent years by the semi-comical documentary series ‘Världens modernaste land’ (‘The World’s most modern country’) or the more intellectual book by Henrik Berggren and Lars Trägårdh, ‘Är svensken människa? Gemenskap och oberoende i det moderna Sverige’ (‘Are Swedes Human? Society and independence in modern Sweden’).

¹⁹⁷ Some, like Sales, would argue that this is disingenuous as the reality of immigration policy - with its emphasis on migrants who bring economic advantage conceivably results in ethnic and economic discrimination. Although Sales does accept that *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* rejects a ‘racialised view of British identity’ (p451).

constituent parts – Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England. Such an approach was particularly strong in the work of the ‘Life in the UK’ Advisory Group. Their report, *The New and the Old*, emphasised diversity and in describing the UK as a ‘multinational state’ and a ‘multicultural society’ drew attention to the number of people who have ‘shared identities’. (Home Office 2002:10) Thus they argued, ‘to be British does not mean assimilation into a common culture so that original identities are lost’ before going on to claim that this is historically evidenced in the retention of Scottish, Welsh, Irish and Jewish identities. Interestingly this rather essentialist view of these minority identities sits alongside an articulation of British identity as an evolving and fluid concept and the argument seen above that attempts to define it ‘too precisely’ should be avoided (Home Office 2003:11).¹⁹⁸ Laying aside the question of whether or not the fluidity of identity should be seen as reassuring to naturalising immigrants what is noteworthy here is the way in which such a strong accentuation of the civic and non-ethnic nature of citizenship is presented in parallel with a recognition of hyphenated identities such as ‘British and Bangladeshi’ or ‘British and African-Caribbean’. It is acknowledged in *The New and the Old* that ‘strongly held ethnic and religious identities can remain alongside a British identity’ (Home Office 2003:10) and intriguingly what ultimately is being offered amidst this discussion of citizenship is a view of identity that is acceptably hyphenated as civic-ethnic. In considering the tone of policy what is also striking here is that the link between citizenship and identity could not be more explicit. The substantial discussion of ‘Britishness’ and its diverse and evolving nature comes in a chapter on the Advisory Group’s ‘Aims and Assumptions’. This outlines the importance of citizenship and of the new naturalisation proposals then shifts effortlessly to identity and its meaning in the context of the UK.

This linking of citizenship with acknowledgement of diversity in identity challenges a commonly held theoretical position. In recent years the idea that the

¹⁹⁸ This could beg the question of how Britishness can be defined in any sense if there is no common culture and exactly why ‘original identities’ have some sort of essential characteristic that endures while Britishness does not. One way of interpreting this is as taking an implicit position that ‘British’ is a ‘state related’ rather than a ‘national’ identity and the use of Scotland and Wales as examples of both hyphenated and non-assimilated identities hints at that sort of understanding.

nation-state's predominance is being challenged by globalisation has been a popular one. Soysal argued for example that increasing migration would undermine the model of national citizenship as mobility increased and residency – denizenship – became of more relative importance (Soysal 1994). Rather, UK policy documents like *The New and the Old*, in recognising the way in which identities can 'change or modulate', concede the increasingly complex variety of identities citizens of a single state may hold. *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* stated the UK government's acceptance that in 'an increasingly mobile world, more and more people will acquire more than one citizenship' (Home Office 2002:30) and the material lacks any real sense that this contemporary plurality of identities presents a threat to national citizenship. That said, the tension between a desire to promote cohesion and shore up a collective identity, 'Britishness', while simultaneously acknowledging the multiplicity of identities held by individuals is real. As suggested in Clarke's words above, it is here that citizenship and promotion of its status has been seen as a way of squaring the circle. *The New and the Old* emphasises the non-ethnic nature of UK citizenship and simultaneously strives to present citizenship as conceptually robust and all embracing. This results in attempts to flesh out the importance of citizenship by characterising its content and leads to attempts to articulate citizenship in terms of common values: '[the] basis of good citizenship is how we behave towards each other collectively and that is what binds us together, rather than assertions of national, ethnic or religious priorities or particular interpretations of history' (Home Office 2003:12).

(4) Citizenship as about 'common values'

'I will give my loyalty to the United Kingdom and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values'. So runs the pledge that naturalising citizens take at citizenship ceremonies in the UK. 'Debate' over what exactly constitutes 'British values' has been a feature of contemporary societal discussion, much of it stimulated by the original Crick report, on the introduction of citizenship education to schools, and the Parekh report on imagining Britain as a multi-ethnic nation. One senior civil servant interviewed described the 'prevailing discourse' around citizenship as 'being about buying into key values' and as noted, discussion of

‘British values’ and ‘Britishness’ tend to sit alongside one another and have been a topic that has challenged and tripped up politicians and commentators in recent times. They are also topics that the policy documents considered here have felt it necessarily to try to tackle. Perhaps unsurprisingly, none go into any great detail but two interlinking themes do emerge in the material. Firstly, philosophically abstract values, like tolerance, respect and a commitment to dignity for all are identified as part of the make-up of ‘Britishness’ and associated with the idea of the UK as a good, democratic society. Secondly, what could be called ‘desirable behavioural norms’ are presented as ‘values’. Thus the ‘responsibilities and duties’ of citizenship are articulated as including ‘working hard’ or ‘learning the language’ or ‘fitting-in’.

This intertwining can be seen fairly typically in *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*. Basic values that ‘British citizens should share’ are argued to include a commitment to equality and dignity. Such values, the text then goes on to contend, must be supported by the provision of opportunity for the development of desirable capabilities, ‘such as the ability to speak our common language’, in order to allow individuals to ‘engage as active citizens in economic, social and political life’ (Home Office 2002:30).¹⁹⁹ A similar pitch is found in *The New and the Old*. Noting that ‘there are responsibilities on the part of those seeking citizenship’ the document names the ‘civic duty of both the new and the old to learn about each other’s ways’ and goes on to claim that ‘to be British’ means respecting laws, ‘democratic political structures’ and ‘traditional values of mutual tolerance, respect for equal rights and mutual concern’ (Home Office 2003:4&11). By 2005 the tone in *Controlling Our Borders* was sharper. With the points system for immigrants outlined and the citizenship test expanded to those seeking permanent residence Tony Blair stated in his foreword the aim to ‘only allow into Britain the people and skills our economy needs. Those who want to settle permanently in the UK will have to show they bring long-term benefits to our country’. This economic advantage was to be supported by the correct values and behaviour, for as the

¹⁹⁹ Interestingly and perhaps in order to avoid the risks of attempting a definitive description, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* refers rather unspecifically to the Human Rights Act 1998 as ‘a key source of values that British citizens should share’.

section entitled ‘Citizenship’ in the White Paper declares, ‘those here should accept that individual freedom and tolerance of diversity are fundamental to our democracy and society’ (Home Office 2005(a):22-23). This acts as a reminder of Blunkett’s integration *quid pro quo*. Indeed in the research interview, although there is no explicit assessment of values in the citizenship test, Wilson argued that the changes in naturalisation processes could be interpreted as ‘tacitly asking newcomers to accept these values’.

It is important to recognise just how substantial a shift the growing importance of citizenship and emphasis on common values and naturalisation mark in the UK’s approach. Considering the position at the end of last decade, Hansen could argue that Britain had ‘arguably the fullest sense in Europe of its status as a multi-cultural society’ (Hansen 2002:189) and that the ‘strength of British citizenship is, paradoxically, its leavened content’ (Hansen 2000:48). In yet, as seen above, by the early part of the 2000s discussion of values were central to discourses around citizenship and in the research interview Blunkett could bluntly state: ‘I don’t believe we’re multicultural’. Nevertheless he could go on to argue that one has ‘to be prepared to understand and welcome diversity’ as part of a framework for integration. Here there are some similarities with Sweden in the way multiculturalism as a descriptive term has fallen out of popularity as a result of worries about its normative implications. Since the time of the disturbances in Northern England, multiculturalism, understood as supporting a society composed of separate and disconnected groups, has been widely challenged by key figures from both the major UK parties and important organisations.²⁰⁰ This critique grew out of the findings of the Denham and Cantle Reports which stressed the need for civic identity and shared values and expressed the risk of flawed policies in the oft-

²⁰⁰ Alongside Blunkett himself prominent critics of ‘multiculturalism’ included David Davis, the Conservative’s shadow Home Secretary; and Trevor Phillips, the Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality (now the Equality and Human Rights Commission). See for example ‘Davis attacks UK multiculturalism’, 3rd of August 2005 at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4740633.stm and ‘Race chief wants integration push’, 3rd of April 2004 at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/3596047.stm>. See ‘In praise of Multiculturalism’ (June 14th 2007) in the Economist for a brief discussion of the tone of these attacks www.economist.com/world/britain/displaystory.cfm?story_id=E1_JPPSGJV

repeated allusion of communities and individuals living a ‘series of parallel lives which do not touch at any point’ (Home Office 2001(a):14).

The meaning and utility of multiculturalism has led to a fair amount of disagreement. Despite Blunkett’s negativity Crick defended the use of multiculturalism and *The New and the Old* used the term in a positive, descriptive way linked to diversity and common values: ‘We see a multicultural society as one made up of a diverse range of cultures and identities, and one that emphasises the need for a continuous process of mutual engagement and learning about each other with respect, understanding and tolerance’ (Home Office 2003:10). The Advisory Group were however, careful to make clear that they were not supportive of a society made-up of ‘separate enclaves’. The contemporary lack of enthusiasm for the use of ‘multiculturalism’ in policy has created a semantic problem for those wanting to talk positively about a plural society. In the research interviews Hedges and Meehan²⁰¹ spoke of ‘interculturalism’ as a way of acknowledging difference and togetherness, while, as already noted, ‘diversity’ is used widely and was used descriptively by many interviewees.

Parekh’s *Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* saw itself as ‘unambiguously reject[ing] segregationist multiculturalism and advocat[ing] open and interactive multiculturalism’ and in the follow-up to his original report Parekh called for the UK to declare itself a ‘multicultural state’ (Runnymede Trust 2004:8). However, there was little chance of this in the changed climate. Instead, as Clarke and Anderson expressed it, worries about ‘multiculturalism’ have meant the focus shifting from ‘let’s celebrate difference’²⁰² towards an emphasis on shared concerns and common values. The Commission for Integration and Cohesion argued the need for the UK to utilise integration and cohesion policy to create ‘a working sense of citizenship [...] based on a set of rights and responsibilities (Commission on Integration and Cohesion 2007:62) and citizenship has increasingly taken centre-stage as policy attempts to create some sort of commonality. It’s worth

²⁰¹ Professor Elizabeth Meehan, member of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and Chair of the Northern Ireland sub-group.

²⁰² Clarke humorously described this as the ‘tea and samosa approach’(!)

noting that such a position has been substantially promoted by Gordon Brown. In his most important set-piece speech, in January 2006 on 'The future of Britishness', he argued that the core 'British values' are belief in 'liberty, responsibility and fairness' and that a commitment to them 'means taking citizenship seriously' (Brown 2006). After contextualising this both in terms of naturalisation processes and education Brown went on to argue the need for:

'Giving more emphasis to the common glue – a Britishness which welcomes differences, but which is not so loose, so nebulous that it is simply defined as the toleration of difference and leaves a hole where national identity should be.' (Brown 2006)

Statements such as Brown's or the others cited above about British values and freedom, tolerance and democracy have been criticised by some as bland almost to the point of meaninglessness. Many interviewees were acutely aware that, as Castellino put it, 'these values are not unique to the UK'. Although clearly true, this should not deflect attention from the significant point that such discussion of values and 'Britishness' are attempts to, if not define, then describe, characterise and represent the *content* of being British (here, as both citizenship and national identity). This is Brown's 'common glue' and such an emphasis on fleshing out content is noteworthy for it seems to operate, albeit implicitly, as an alternative strategy to boundary articulation and the positing of an 'other' in supporting the idea of commonality and belonging. Theoretically, it is conventional to understand identity as relational. Fredrik Barth's classic formulation, cited above, states that a group 'depends on the maintenance of a boundary [...] that defines the group' and 'canalizes social life' (Barth 1969: 14-15). Empirically however, it is of interest that in the citizenship policy documents there is little sign of explicit othering and there is no specific group unambiguously targeted for the dissemination of 'British values'. In the policy and interview material – or indeed Brown's speech – 'Britishness' or 'our values' are not discussed as different from some identifiable other, 'them' or 'their values'. The closest the material comes to drawing a border around values is in pretty general statements like that in *Secure Borders, Safe*

Haven that ‘it will sometimes be necessary to confront some cultural practices which conflict with these basic values – such as those which deny women the right to participate as equal citizens’ (Home Office 2002:30). Some might argue that this is plainly an implicit nod at certain groups and operates as a way of delineating Britishness against non-democracies or non-progressive religious traditions. This may be the case, although it is surely worthy of note that such subtlety is as far as direct othering in the policy material goes. It should also be emphasised that even here the thrust of the statement is about ‘practices’ – behaviour - rather than the identification of different ‘others’. This is not, of course, to deny the widespread and at times intense boundary-drawing around British identity that takes place in popular discourse. Whether in opposition to the French, the Germans, Europe, Muslims, asylum-seekers or just foreigners, what Clarke cleverly called ‘compound adjective pigeon-holing’ (for example: ‘scrounging asylum-seekers’ or ‘Polish-born’²⁰³) is pervasive in sections of the UK media and sadly unexceptional in public debate. Nevertheless, this research’s focus is on the ways in which citizenship is conceptualised *in policy*. What fascinates is the way in which citizenship is used in UK policy and by policy-makers to avoid categorical othering and to construct commonality that is based on content, values and behaviour, however tentative or flimsy. In the research interview Anderson spoke of the sense that citizenship policy was increasingly ‘being linked to behaviours that are seen as good [...] are you volunteering in the community, have you got some knowledge of that community’.²⁰⁴ The attempt to use content as support for identity construction and seemingly as an attempt to square the circle of ‘unity in diversity’ is an issue that will be returned to in the analysis of Chapter 8.

²⁰³ The effect of this sort of categorising in everyday language was reflected in a humorous, if unfortunate, anecdote mentioned in the research interview by McCartney. In her work at the Peterborough integration centre she said she commonly had to correct local residents who complained about ‘Polish asylum-seekers’. Apparently they were not referring to World War Two’s refugees.

²⁰⁴ Such an emphasis is again being strengthened in the UK proposals for further reform around citizenship. The ‘Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act’ passed in July 2009 introduces the idea of ‘earned citizenship’ based on a points system. The current timetable foresees introduction in July 2011 and consultation of the details of how points will be ‘earned’ is currently ongoing. Up-to-date information is available at www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk

(5) *Citizenship as a significant 'journey'*

Anderson's insight that citizenship was being conceptually linked to behaviour (or rather, behavioural ideals) was echoed by other interviewees and Wilson commented that shared values and a sense of 'common humanity' are best learnt through social activity and involvement. A conceptualisation of citizenship as about participation was strong in the UK case, particularly in the comments of interviewees, and it was grounded strongly in the 1998 *Education for citizenship* report which stated that 'Active citizenship' is our aim throughout' (Crick 1998:25). This accentuation of participation and activity can be understood to play a similar role as the discussions and debate around 'British values': it is an attempt to provide greater content to the meaning of citizenship. Indeed, they are also at times described as 'values' and overlap in the emphasis on 'fairness' and 'responsibility'. A large part of Brown's speech focused on a supposed tradition of civic responsibility and voluntarism which he argued meant that 'at the core of British history [lay] the very ideas of 'active citizenship'. Although at the time of writing there is no obligation on the naturalising citizens to provide evidence of societal participation²⁰⁵, in describing the work of the 'Life in the UK' Advisory Group, Kiwan²⁰⁶ stated that:

'There was a lot of discussion about the need for there to a portfolio and for there to be active voluntary work, the need to be participative... I mean integration is not just about the legal status and being let into the club of being a British citizen but it's about the process and the journey, the experience.'

This explicit interlinking of the different understandings of citizenship analysed in this chapter – as about belonging and integration, values and diversity – points to the way in which citizenship is conceptualised in the UK as a process. As Kiwan

²⁰⁵ When the legislation referred to in the previous footnote is implemented this situation will change. Consultation on how voluntary work and community participation will be assessed is presently taking place.

²⁰⁶ Dina Kiwan, member of the 'Life in the United Kingdom' Advisory Group and co-author of *New and the Old Report*. Head of Secretariat to Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) 2004-2006.

noted, it is interpreted as a 'journey' that individuals make, towards and through naturalisation and to a position of 'good' citizenship. This idea of citizenship as a metaphorical journey is the final conceptualisation to be assessed here and it draws together a number of strands in the way contemporary UK policy has promoted citizenship as significant, as a 'reward' and as something that should be celebrated.

Secure Borders, Safe Haven and *The New and the Old* emphasised the role of language learning as an entitlement that aids both integration and employment opportunities. The importance of language knowledge was connected to the participative emphasis of citizenship and the argument that 'new citizens should be equipped to be active citizens' (Home Office 2003:9). The assessment itself and the emphasis on the importance of English language knowledge in the naturalisation process were maintained to be beneficial for both the individual concerned and wider UK society and *Integration Matters* wrote about encouraging 'those applying for settlement and citizenship to develop their knowledge of the English language and of life in the UK' (Home Office 2005(b):62) as an 'entitlement' that aids both integration and employment opportunities. This privilege to engage on the journey to citizenship, would it was hoped, lead to the attainment of citizenship status and this was conceived of as a reward. The Advisory Group argued that 'citizenship is more esteemed and valued when it is earned, not given' (Home Office 2003:3-4).

Similarly, in the research interviews the idea of naturalisation as a journey which involved concrete advancement and measured progress was apparent. In talking about the development of policy Crick spoke of the importance of Blunkett's belief that there was a need to promote a greater feeling of achievement in gaining citizenship. Castelino reflected on how policy changes had developed 'a sense of transition' in the naturalisation process. In *The New and the Old* the Advisory Group saw their task as being 'to raise the status and significance of becoming a British citizen for both old and new arrivals' and the idea of citizenship as being about a journey of incremental progress supported this objective. In launching the work of the Advisory group Blunkett had stated that 'becoming a British citizen is a significant life event' and went on to argue that the government wanted to move

beyond a purely bureaucratic process to make citizenship ‘meaningful and celebratory’ (Home Office 2003:8).

The meshing of identity and values is also seen as a benefit of journeying towards naturalisation. *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* contends that preparation for citizenship is helpful in developing ‘civic identity and shared values’, counteracting social exclusion and polarisation, and increasing employability (Home Office 2002:32-33). The objective of this journey that is articulated in policy is that people will be able to take their place fully in society: ‘through adequate command of the language and an appreciation of our democratic processes’ (Home Office 2002:32). The emphasis on English language knowledge as ‘essential’ clearly provides some of the substance to the idea of naturalising citizens making a ‘journey’. In this sense the test can arguably be seen as not only about giving content to the idea of citizenship, but also as providing a staging post on the ‘journey’.

Blunkett and Crick set out to raise the status of citizenship from an almost invisible bureaucratic process to a significant, celebrated event and the process of becoming a citizen is presented as being welcoming, meaningful and embedded in the wider social cohesion and integration agenda. *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* talks of ‘celebrating the acquisition of citizenship’ and argues that there is evidence that ‘ceremonies can have an important impact on promoting the value of naturalisation and that immigrant groups welcome them’ (Home Office 2002:34). *The New and the Old* echoes this (Home Office 2003:30-31) and stresses the public, civic and integrative nature of the ceremonies. Ceremonies then can be recognised as part of a transition and this idea is developed in Chapter 8.²⁰⁷ They provide a further staging post and play an important role in the conceptualisation of citizenship as a ‘significant journey’. In the research interview Blunkett argued that ceremonies were part of making the naturalisation process:

²⁰⁷ The significance attached to ceremonies as recording naturalising citizens’ advance into UK society is emphasised by the detailed breakdown that has been given in the UK’s statistical bulletins since 2006. See, for example, www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs07/hosb0807.pdf

‘worth the hurdle, [to] make it worth jumping. Every ceremony that I’ve been to has been rejoicing; it’s been a genuine commemoration of the transition either to being a dual citizen or to being a UK citizen. And it’s working...’

One noteworthy aspect of this sort of conceptualisation is that in using terms like ‘acquisition’, ‘significance’ or ‘transition’ and in describing naturalisation as ‘an event’ there is an implicit acknowledgement that there are boundaries around the political community and that becoming a citizen is about gaining membership. Nevertheless, while the language draws attention to this, there is also a concurrent effort to emphasise content. The new citizen has learned, gained and has gone through an (integrative) process that has had substance; that has had meaning.

Case-study Conclusions

Empirical analysis of the UK case finds five core conceptualisations of citizenship that emerge from the interviews with policy-makers and study of the materials. These understandings interplay with one another and give both meaning and direction to thinking about citizenship in UK policy. The conceptualisations identify ‘citizenship’ as integrative; as about belonging; as embracing diversity; as about common values; and as a ‘journey’. In the framing of citizenship they interlock in complex ways but absolutely core to how citizenship is conceived is thinking about integration and belonging. The chapters have shown how a conceptual relationship between citizenship and the idea of *integration* - that Crick could describe as ‘completely divorced’ - has transformed in the past decade to a position where Hedges spoke of the acquisition of citizenship as the ‘culmination of integration’. The single most important individual involved in the process, David Blunkett, viewed acceptance of the need to integrate and the symbolic linking of this to naturalisation as a *quid pro quo*. This was increasingly the case not only in understandings of the migrant’s relationship with UK society but also in the relationship between the concepts themselves. Citizenship was to be gained

through evidence of integration and integration was to be aided through naturalisation.

Chapters 6 and 7 have also shown how citizenship policy operates in a conceptual context where *belonging* is understood principally in terms of identity; and is problematised as being about the content or meaning of Britishness. The research has found how attempts to convey this content converged and to some extent got bogged down in articulations of '*common values*'. These could be described both in abstract terms as, for example, a position of support and respect for the democratic society, or as practical behavioural norms such as 'working hard'. This increasing focus on values as a way of enunciating the expected substance of citizenship impacted on the conceptual language used around citizenship. In stressing commonality, difference was downgraded and multiculturalism downplayed. As the analysis has found this has created some tension in the interplay with positive expressions of *diversity*. Acknowledgments of complexity and the evolving nature of modern identity were found to sit uncomfortably alongside objectives of societal cohesion. Intriguingly for this research it was citizenship itself that was seen in policy as a way out of this conundrum. Determined and consistent efforts were made to play up its civic and potentially inclusive character through emphasising ethnicity as conceptually absent in considerations of citizenship. The idea of citizenship as a '*journey*', as progress, a reward or an achievement also sought to provide some content to citizenship. The test and ceremony made naturalisation a process and symbolised it as a transition, as something meaningful and celebratory.

These conceptualisations and the conceptual context in which they interplay have to a large extent been discussed here in their own terms. It is in order to elicit a further understanding of the approaches in each case that Chapters 8 and 9 place them alongside one another in a comparative reflection and analysis. It is to this task the thesis now turns.

Section III: Comparative Reflection and Conclusions

Chapter 8. Comparative Analysis

‘Only Connect’

E.M Forster. 1910. *Howards End*.

The objective of this thesis is to understand the ways in which citizenship, in the context of naturalisation processes, has been conceptualised in policy and by policy-makers in the case countries of Sweden and the United Kingdom during the periods studied. The discussion and analysis of this final chapter adds to understandings of how these conceptualisations interplay; and it draws attention to the work citizenship - and ways of conceiving it - does for policy-makers. Previous chapters have considered and analysed theories of citizenship (Chapter 2) and how it has been conceptualised in practice in the particular cases (Chapters 4-7). The research has provided a rich source of material and in the closing two chapters the focus lies on what can be drawn out of the study in a comparative sense. Chapter 8 discussed the advantages of studying two cases and the methodological foundation of the work. The findings are grounded in and led by the empirical work carried out in each case study and are therefore distinct and specific. Nevertheless, the findings in each case aid understanding of the other by accentuating what may be unusual or of particular interest. This has encouraged a process of reflective contrast and comparison throughout the research process and the aim of this chapter is to discuss what can be learnt from placing the findings from each case alongside one another. Here the findings are analysed through the narrative of the discussion while Chapter 9 returns to the ‘conceptual space’ model laid out in Chapter 2 as a way of highlighting key aspects and concluding the thesis.

The thesis’s conceptual framework considered the way in which citizenship is theorised and contextualised. It outlined how citizenship’s core characteristic can be understood as being its role as a membership status which has both boundaries and content. Boundaries in that people become citizens and belong to an identified group; content in that citizenship can be thought about and conceptualised as rights and duties, as practices, or as ideas about identity and belonging. The empirical

chapters identified the way in which these elements play a role in the citizenship discourses of Sweden and the UK. For example, naturalisation processes mark boundaries and make clear what the requirements are for crossing them. Positions on dual citizenship illustrate both ideas about content and whether boundaries, in an ideational sense, are understood as sharply defined and inflexible or alternatively as messy and uncertain, or even fluid. Thinking about whether the substance of citizenship should be emphasised as common shared rights due to all, or common shared values expected of all, tell us much about how the content of citizenship is understood.

In the empirical study of the Swedish case a ‘trinity’ of key ways of conceptualising citizenship were identified; citizenship was understood in policy and by policy-makers in relation to ideas about integration, equality and belonging. This trinity was also supplemented by a view of citizenship contextualised as part of a symbolic welcoming of migrants and by recognition of the impact of globalisation in thinking about citizenship both as an institution and idea. In the empirical material relating to the UK, ideas about integration and belonging also played a strong role in policy discourses around citizenship. These understandings were complemented by ideas about citizenship as related to governmental objectives of embracing diversity and supporting common values. Gaining citizenship, as a consequence of naturalisation, was also conceived of metaphorically as a journey, with would-be citizens passing staging-posts on the road to achieving the goal.

Key conceptualisations of citizenship as discussed in chapters 5 and 7

Sweden

1. Integration
2. Equality (as resources and rights)
3. Belonging (as certainty)
4. Welcoming and symbolism
5. Response to global context

United Kingdom

1. Integration
2. Belonging (as identity)
3. Embracing diversity
4. Common values
5. ‘Journey’ to citizenship

Table 1. Key conceptualisations of citizenship as discussed in Chapters 5 and 7.

A number of themes worthy of comparison and contrast accordingly appear in the cases. Citizenship's role in thinking about integration is a crucial way in which the term is conceptualised in both the United Kingdom and Sweden, albeit that the countries have divergent approaches. The idea of the UK's approach as a *quid pro quo* is contrasted with Swedish emphasis on 'reciprocity' and is the first topic assessed below. In both cases thinking about citizenship's function in integration also interplayed with ideas about (national) belonging and this forms a second area of discussion. Broad similarities are evident but again conceptualisations diverge with discourses of identity more prominent in the UK while belonging in Sweden is talked about more often in terms of 'certainty' of one's place in society.

The conceptualisation of citizenship as being about equality was a strong theme in the Swedish case – forming part of the 'trinity' discussed in Chapter 5. A third section contrasts this understanding and the content it gives to conceptualisations of citizenship with the emphasis placed on the idea of 'common values' in the UK material. Discussions of citizenship also relate to how plurality and diversity are understood in both countries and the impact on conceptualisations is considered in a fourth section. The contextualisation of citizenship as responding to the need of the Swedish state to both symbolically 'welcome' migrants and to respond to processes of globalisation were also aspects that were prominent in the Swedish case in comparison to the United Kingdom. This fourth and final section contrasts this position with the importance given in the UK to the idea of naturalisation as a transitive 'journey'. It is proposed that these ideas can be understood in both cases as emphasising the need for transformation. However, in Sweden prominence was given to the argument that both the state and society needed to transform in order to meet the needs of a changing population. In contrast, in the United Kingdom, greatest importance was placed on the transformative potential of the individual in becoming a (or developing into a better) citizen. The table below shows the main comparative themes and conceptualisations analysed.

Areas of contrast and comparison in citizenship conceptualisations		
Theme	Swedish conceptualisation and issues	UK conceptualisation and issues
1. Integration	Integration As 'reciprocal'	Integration As <i>quid pro quo</i>
2. Belonging	Belonging (as certainty) Circumventing 'immigrant'	Belonging (as identity) Defining 'Britishness'
3. Finding Content	Equality (as resources and rights)	Common Values
4. Diversity	Symbolic welcoming in response to globalised context	Embracing diversity (remove or recognise ethnicity)

Table 2. Areas of contrast and comparison in citizenship conceptualisations.

1. Citizenship's role in integration

The conceptual discussion of Chapter 2 considered the role of thinking about integration in contextualising ideas about citizenship and the empirical chapters made clear the way in which citizenship is conceptualised as integrative in both cases. Similarities exist, of course, in this linking of citizenship and integration but there are also aspects where the approach in the two cases is significantly distinct.

The conceptual framework highlighted certain expectations in the connection between citizenship and integration. In the context of increasingly pluralist societies, it was believed that citizenship could play an important role in stimulating and supporting integration objectives. For example, in the discussion of authors such as Favell (2001) and Joppke (2007), it was suggested that a political acceptance of diversity pushed citizenship to the forefront as a progressive way of framing approaches to integration. Interestingly, while 'the idea of citizenship' was seen as an aid in responding to the practical reality of diversity and the challenge of social cohesion (and this is returned to in section 4 below) it was also seen as an alternative to the multiculturalist policy approaches of the 1980s and 1990s. Chapter 2 noted Brubaker's (2001) contention that the 'differentialist turn' had exhausted itself and elsewhere the thesis has noted empirical instances of scepticism, even hostility to what are perceived as multiculturalist policy norms.

How the cases meet these two-fold expectations of citizenship as a way of both buttressing and as a way of managing ethnically pluralist societies is highlighted below. Earlier discussion also considered how the emphasis on citizenship as arguably beneficial for integration objectives draws attention to the matters of dual citizenship and naturalisation (Faist et al 2004, Faist 2007(b)). Morjé Howard (2006) noted the expectation of greater integration, national loyalty and better language skills among naturalised citizens. Also discussed was Hammar's (1985) long-sighted argument about the integrative benefits of liberalising access to dual citizenship. The contrast in the approaches of Sweden and the United Kingdom in linking integration policy and the acquisition of citizenship provides a substantial area for examination. Similarly, the attempt to provide citizenship with a content that supports a sense of identity was also discussed in the conceptual framework section and the diverse ways in which Sweden and the UK handled this issue provides a further point of interest.

In both the United Kingdom and Sweden integration emerged in the empirical study as an extremely strong way of conceptualising citizenship. Integration acted as a foundational idea in thinking about the term; as an understanding on which other ideas about citizenship and its role were built. In the UK chapters conceptualisations of citizenship as concerning both integration and belonging and the interplay between them emerged as the most powerful idea. In analysing the Swedish material, integration formed part of the 'trinity' of ideas, alongside equality and belonging which were clearly apparent as the fundamental ways in which Swedish policy and policy-makers conceived of citizenship. The centrality of integration in thinking about citizenship in both countries was, as anticipated, contextualised by thinking about how policy could respond to increasingly pluralist societies. However, although this aspect is prominent in both cases the conceptualisation of citizenship's role is somewhat different. The empirical material pointed to how emphasis of 'multiculturalism' has been toned down in both countries, both as a policy objective and as a positively accentuated characteristic of society. Nevertheless, in comparison, this was clearly a stronger conceptual current in the case of the UK than in Sweden.

Drawing citizenship together with integration

Chapters 4 and 5 made clear how citizenship policy in Sweden is very clearly related to and built on the back of integration policy. In this context changes to citizenship policy, the acceptance of dual citizenship and the more active promotion of naturalisation did not challenge thinking about integration. Rather they were conceived as supporting the pluralist vision of society laid out in integration policy and the reciprocal view of integration itself. Citizenship was to be more explicitly recognised as a component in the process of integration and dual citizenship supported as a characteristic of a diverse society but the changes around citizenship did not *per se* contest the tone or content of Swedish integration policy; rather they built on it.

In the case of the UK, there was a greater initial distance between thinking on citizenship and integration. The empirical discussion noted Blunkett and Crick's surprise, following Labour's 1997 electoral victory, at the apparent lack of any clear connection between policy on citizenship and policy on integration. In the United Kingdom this position has now changed radically with the idea of integration, and its connection to citizenship, playing a pivotal role in the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*, in the aptly named strategy document *Integration Matters* and in the work of both ABNI and the Commission on Integration and Cohesion. During the period studied it is clear that there was a more substantial movement in citizenship and integration policy in the UK in comparison with Sweden. Crick described the position in the late 1990s as one of an 'amazingly loose citizenship law [...where] the idea of the formality of citizenship seemed completely divorced from any idea of integration' and naturalisation did not 'create enough feeling of achievement'. Meehan noted that in the work around citizenship Blunkett was chiefly 'concerned with integration'. By 2007 the policy position had evolved to one where naturalisation was unachievable without the candidate publicly pledging loyalty to the United Kingdom in a citizenship ceremony, having already passed a test in English language skills and an assessment of their knowledge of 'life in the UK'. Although the UK was still conceived in much of this study's empirical material as a diverse society the

changes around integration and citizenship give evidence of a much more assertive challenge to ‘multiculturalism’.

Quid pro quo vs. ‘Reciprocal integration’

The distinction in the way Sweden and the UK conceptualise how integration and citizenship interplay in policy can be seen in comparing Home Secretary David Blunkett’s ‘*quid pro quo*’ with the Swedish accentuation of the idea of ‘reciprocal integration’. In the case of conceptualisations in British policy, citizenship was increasingly perceived as a reward to be exchanged in return for evidence of an individual’s integration. Blunkett spoke of the perceived need for immigrants:

‘To understand as an incoming citizen, particularly those who wanted to stay for any length of time, [and who] wanted to become a naturalised citizen, that this meant something. It was not just an envelope dropping on the doorstep with a piece of paper that you had paid for. This was a commitment.’

In UK policy understanding then, the perceived importance of citizenship to integration policy went through a rapid expansion and citizenship is conceived both as an intrinsic good that should be earned and as an inducement to integration. In contrast, in Sweden during the period covered in this study, the position has remained comparatively steady. Swedish policy views citizenship as playing a role in a process of reciprocal adaptation where both ‘native born Swedes’ and immigrants adjust to conditions of societal diversity. Citizenship plays an integrative role because it is open to all on the same conditions. Interestingly, Ulrica Messing, Swedish Minister for Integration used the same postal imagery as Blunkett. As noted, she argued the need to ‘to show that it [naturalisation to citizenship] is not only a letter in the post but that it is also a celebration and one can feel that now I am part of Swedish society’.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Indeed, this was a common comparative reference point for interviewees in both cases, particularly in the UK. Policy change, it seemed, was ‘better than getting a brown envelope on your floor on a Monday morning...’, as Hedges put it.

In the Swedish legislation this idea of reciprocal integration was robustly defended; integration must be reciprocal, a question both for immigrants and for those already living in Sweden (Chapter 5). As Johansson stated in his interview (Chapter 4), the idea of reciprocity was one of the two key conceptual ideas underpinning the entire Swedish policy approach to integration. In the UK reciprocity was understood rather as Blunkett's *quid pro quo*; immigrants would learn about the UK, its language and traditions and in return they would be welcomed. The UK case differed also in that within this *quid pro quo* it was understood that the UK as a country had to be benefiting. Within the section entitled 'Who we allow to stay and why', *Controlling Our Borders* wrote of how further changes were necessary to 'increase the economic benefit to the UK'. The White Paper then explained the rationale for the introduction of tests, arguing that 'these requirements are related to the factors that are most closely linked to migrants succeeding in the UK and becoming economically active, and are intended to encourage greater social integration' (Home Office 2005(a):22).

The difference in tone between the cases can be seen as highlighting distinct motivations. The evidence from the Swedish case draws attention to the way in which citizenship and integration were discussed in a context of 'entitlement' – a belief that, ideally at least, opportunities and equality should be open to non-Swedes as to Swedes. To this end *both* integration and citizenship could be viewed as tools. In the United Kingdom case, integration itself appeared as the primary objective. To support and create a stronger sense of identity and cohesiveness was good in itself and citizenship provided a useful tool for the task.

Both Blunkett and Messing also spoke of citizenship's role in integration as connected to belonging; but again in subtly different ways. For Messing:

'I think that we, as a country, need to be even prouder of diversity. It is an amazing richness. There are a lot of different bits to integration. But this was a very important part of it; that we talk about and protect diversity and say that 'this is a part of Sweden's identity'. It wasn't just that this is

cool and it feels modern but there was an idea behind it – it was important.’

Asked whether there existed a conflict between such a promotion of diversity and the idea of reciprocal integration, Messing argued that:

‘No, rather that it made it easier. Citizenship includes duties. Not just to go and vote, but also to do the best for oneself and to help others. I think citizenship helps with the idea that one isn’t just here as a guest but one is also a part of the country.’

Emphasis was placed then on what citizenship allowed, what it aided. In the United Kingdom, or at least in Blunkett’s conceptualisation, there were somewhat different expectations. The test, the development of language skills, loyalty to the UK; these could be used as evidence of integration, evidence of immigrants part in what could be perceived as some sort of societal pact. Blunkett stated:

‘The *quid pro quo* is: ‘look there are people coming in, but they are making a major commitment to our country – they are learning about us, our history our identity. They want to embrace it, they are making a choice, so therefore there is an obligation on us as a community to reach out and welcome them. That is why I felt language was so important – because you can’t communicate with someone [who] you can’t communicate with.’

Entitlement vs. Effort

The empirical material from this work makes then fundamentally clear that during the period studied there has been a strengthening of understandings that citizenship and integration intertwine in both cases. However the two countries conceptualise this link and weigh the gains to be made from it in different ways.

The Swedish emphasis on general policy and reciprocal integration points to an expectation that the state and society will respond to increased migration and expanding ethnic and cultural pluralism in the country through the introduction of new legislation that suits the changed situation and through supporting a re-definition of how Swedish society is understood. The tone in the policy materials and interviews around the issue of naturalisation was one of *entitlement*, about how immigrants can gain equality of opportunity and feel themselves fairly treated by wider society. This was seen as the route to supporting integration. This *was the context the legislation wished to create for individuals*. The focus of the process was understood as being about the state and the concept of society evolving to meet this end. In the United Kingdom the idea of a *quid pro quo*, where integration is rewarded with societal acceptance and a route to citizenship, attests to the way in which legislation's role has been seen - in contrast to Sweden - as useful in encouraging individuals to conform to the expectations of the state and society, both in economic terms and in terms of (supposed) loyalty.

These differences are seen clearly in the legislative changes that have occurred in both countries around naturalisation policy. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, in Sweden the major reform was the opening to dual citizenship and this was described in the legislation and by policy-makers as about giving individuals opportunities in a time of globalisation and diversity. Johansson saw it as about equal rights and fairness; Olauson as about providing security for immigrants in their new society. Hermansson spoke the desire for open and generous legislation and Hammar's theoretical ideas of a generation earlier about how dual citizenship could aid integration were evoked. The argument was made that there was little disadvantage for the state in making the reform but no strong argument was made that the legislation's objectives led to particular advantage for the state. Rather, the legislation was seen as 'right' in responding to the needs of residents of Sweden and of Swedes living abroad in a time of substantial immigration, internationalisation and diversity.

In addition to the integrative benefits of individuals supposedly feeling a greater sense of equality and security the opening to dual citizenship was also seen as beneficial to integration in the way it supported a sense of belonging in Swedish society. Messing spoke of the possibility of ‘loving two countries’; Hermansson of how the new legislation allowed people to properly reflect their identity. Bernström noted that it makes it ‘easier for one to say they are Swedish’, even if they associated themselves with other national identities as well.

The changes made around naturalisation policy in the UK were discursively motivated in a different way. As in the Swedish case legislation emphasised the need for change at the state level to meet the challenges associated with migration, globalisation, changing notions of a national society and related needs for individual entitlement. However, in the UK, the focus of legislation was on supporting change at the individual level in order to strengthen the notion of and knowledge about the (nation-) state. The tone that surrounded the issue of naturalisation of migrants can be described as an idea of *earned incorporation*. Achieving citizenship and gaining membership through naturalisation was understood as requiring endeavour and effort. *This was the context the legislation wished to create for individuals*. As in Sweden there was recognition that naturalisation can be argued to be beneficial for the individual, society and the state but the emphasis was weighted somewhat differently. Asked about the overarching aim of the policy Hedges commented:

‘The objective is to enable individuals to fulfil their full potential; in the context of the UK. That’s what it’s all about. At a national level it’s about communities – safer communities, more productive communities and so on. That’s the very clear objective. It’s not at all firefighting...’

He went on to speak about why the systemisation of the language requirement was seen as so central in the testing regime:

‘What we decided was that what we really wanted was functional English. So that you could function in employment in a predominantly English-speaking environment – to quote the Crick report! But more practically so that you could function in society.’

The way in which the changed legislative context would aid in directing citizens towards integration and what was viewed as good citizenship was accentuated further in the interview:

‘Citizenship [...it’s] a sense of belonging, a sense of being involved in society, indeed a sense of loyalty and shared values. [...] the issue of values, shared values within society and behaviours that are appropriate within a UK context.

[...] I would argue that you can be naturalised and not be a good citizen and that was maybe the situation a few years ago. I think by virtue of the processes that we have we’re now reducing that. I think the two processes have to go in parallel in fact. The acquisition of nationality is perhaps the culmination of the integration process. If you only start to integrate someone when they become a national, frankly it’s too late.’

In sum, it is possible to note some clear distinctions in the ways in which integration is linked to citizenship in the two cases studied. These are symbolised in the ideas of reciprocity and the *quid pro quo* highlighted above. Swedish understandings saw change coming from the state in order to support individual entitlement while the UK focus was on change at the individual level supported through the effort of naturalising to citizenship. These ideas are returned to below. Interestingly, within the two countries, citizenship was conceptualised as having most effect in different places within a process of migrant integration (see box below). In the UK citizenship was conceived to act as an incentive. The introduction of the tests was explicitly about supporting integration with the naturalisation process running parallel to a process of integration and providing

proof of it. The ideal was that naturalising citizens would be ‘integrated’; the gaining of citizenship as Hedges ‘culmination’. In Sweden, naturalisation was also used as an instrument to support integration but here it was utilised in a reverse manner, not as an incentive, but as a strengthening of the foundations of integration. In making these points and in relation to the box below it is lastly important to be clear that these positions are far from absolute. It would be odd and incorrect to claim that there is no idea of integration taking place before naturalisation in Sweden (there clearly is) or that the process of integration is understood as complete upon naturalisation in the UK. Nevertheless, citizenship was undoubtedly playing a different conceptual (and functional) role in relation to integration in the policy of the two countries.

Citizenship’s conceptualisation within a process of migrant integration

UK:

Immigration → necessity of Citizenship classes
 → (expectation of employment)/mandatory period of residence
 → **integration**/identification with UK → language and citizenship test
 → **naturalisation to citizenship**

Core to conceptualisation is that one becomes a member and then gains citizenship.

Sweden:

Immigration → right to language classes
 → (hope of employment)/mandatory period of residence
 → **naturalisation to citizenship** → **integration**/sense of belonging/equal dignity.

Core to conceptualisation is that one gains citizenship in order to aid one in becoming a member.

Figure 7. Citizenship’s conceptualisation within a process of migrant integration.

2. Citizenship’s relationship to belonging and identity

In addition to integration both the Swedish and the UK cases clearly conceptualised citizenship as being connected to belonging; and in the case of the Swedish trinity, also to ideas of equality. In discussing the connections between identity, belonging and citizenship Chapter 2 noted how the political relationship between the concepts of state and nation provide a framework in which citizenship and identity operate conceptually. That chapter also speculated that more pluralist conceptions of

national citizenship were challenging ideas of ethnically bounded citizenship and national identity and discussed how thinking about both boundaries and content of citizenship could impact on conceptualisations of citizenship.

In both cases a number of themes were identified in how citizenship was conceptualised as belonging and two major areas are discussed in this section. Firstly, in the Swedish case the role of citizenship as a tool for aiding an immigrant's sense of security – and thus certainty of belonging - was emphasised. This forms the first focus of discussion in contrast with the UK's stronger focus on the way in which a sense of belonging and identification with the UK were seen as a desirable quality for citizens. Secondly, a robust debate took place in Sweden around categorisation of 'immigrants', and the meaning of the term itself also played an important role in highlighting how citizenship was conceptualised as being about belonging. This provides an interesting comparison with the UK focus on 'Britishness' and ways of interpreting these different emphases are also discussed below.

In both the UK and Sweden thinking about what belonging and citizenship meant in an increasingly plural society was a strong theme and this aspect is returned to in section four below. In the UK thinking about what common 'values' relate to the ideas of citizenship, integration and belonging also played an important role. This is discussed specifically in section three in comparison and contrast to Swedish conceptualisations of citizenship as being about equality.

Feeling British; feeling secure

Conceptualisations of citizenship as about belonging play, then, an important role in both cases studied. Nevertheless, there is a clear contrast in the way in which citizenship is seen as playing a role in the complex issue of a sense of belonging to the national society. In the United Kingdom, belonging was often conceptualised as connected to having a British identity. This fitted with the idea of a journey to citizenship; it was a journey to *British* citizenship. In the Swedish case, in contrast, the idea of belonging was frequently conceptualised as related to one's 'right' to be

part of society. Conceptualised as part of citizenship, belonging was less connected with Swedish identity as with a certainty that one had an accepted place within Swedish society and that different patterns of identity were acceptable within that society.

Thus, in the British case, the sense of a particular approved route to naturalisation was apparent in the discourse around citizenship. Wintour spoke of immigrants' thinking about their identity as an 'indicator' of integration and Blunkett spoke of the need for an articulation of identity in a time of globalisation. Castelino spoke of 'pathways to naturalisation' and a 'sense of transition' and reflecting in broad terms on the context to changes in naturalisation and citizenship policy she attempted to describe what she thought was taking place:

'It's a time when we're now part of Europe, we're part of a global economy...but also think about what makes you British, Irish whatever. [...] The citizenship drive in schools...thinking about what we expect from young people... It's a lot of different threads coming together and a lot of tensions about the way society – thinking now globally has been developing [...]...it's a way of nation-building...

Maybe it's because... as we've become more diverse at one level. At the other level people are thinking, how do we integrate, homogenise... to do something about this melting-pot and define our national character... So it's a lot of different threads coming together.'

More direct were the statements of Hedges and the senior Home Office official. The former argued that: 'the idea's that with naturalisation comes a sense of loyalty to the UK and a lot of the activities around naturalisation have been intended to do just that' and as noted in Chapter 7, the latter commented that choosing to go through the naturalisation process could be seen as a 'proxy' for 'identification with this country'. The ideational objective that emerges here is then a view of naturalisation as something that takes place in the midst of a growing loyalty to the

UK and sense of identification with it. Belonging, as identification with the UK, is something that is conceptualised as growing during the journey to naturalisation and as being reinforced by the demands associated with the process. A naturalising immigrant does not just become a citizen of the UK but there exists also an expectation – not perhaps a demand, but certainly a strong wish – for that immigrant to also have a nascent British identity. This discussion interlocks strongly with the role of thinking about ‘values’ in the British conceptualisation of citizenship and this is expanded on below.

The approach in the UK can be contrasted with the conceptualisation of belonging that emerged from the Swedish material. Although Swedish identity was inevitably spoken about, when the idea of belonging was conceptualised in its relationship with citizenship, rather than being seen as the result of national loyalty or as a way of stimulating such loyalty, it was most commonly expressed as a certainty of one’s place in society and something to be supported and secured through one’s right to naturalise.

While Messing spoke about belonging in relation to identity, this wasn’t about becoming Swedish in a defined way but rather about immigrants being able to feel *certainty* that their own identity – regardless of whether it was Swedish, split, dual or multiple identity - was accepted and in a way guarded by their becoming Swedish citizens. Belonging was more strongly linked to one’s security in society, to be able, as Messing put it, ‘to feel responsibility and to feel that one has rights’. Chapter 5 drew attention to the emphasis on ‘trygghet’ (meaning ‘certainty’, ‘assurance’, ‘security’) in the Swedish case and how ways of conceptualising citizenship in relation to belonging and equality entangled. This was symbolised in Magnusson’s attempt to describe what was ‘typically Swedish’ as ‘an effort to minimise unjust situations’ and a strong emphasis on ‘trygghet’, that one could feel confident and sure in one’s life. Conceptualised in its relationship with citizenship, belonging in Sweden was understood primarily to come from ‘feeling secure’; and this provided a foundational idea for allowing ease of naturalisation (and multiple citizenship).

There was then a real distinction in the way in which citizenship was linked to belonging in the two cases studied. In comparison with Sweden new citizens of the UK were fairly strongly conceptualised as having a British national identity and the development of this loyalty was seen as part of the process, the ‘journey’ of naturalisation. The idea of belonging in the UK was connected to and understood principally to come from ‘feeling British’ and it was an objective of the naturalisation process to develop and stimulate that feeling. An attempt to both generalise and encapsulate the way in which citizenship and belonging’s relationship was conceived as a process in both countries looks like this:

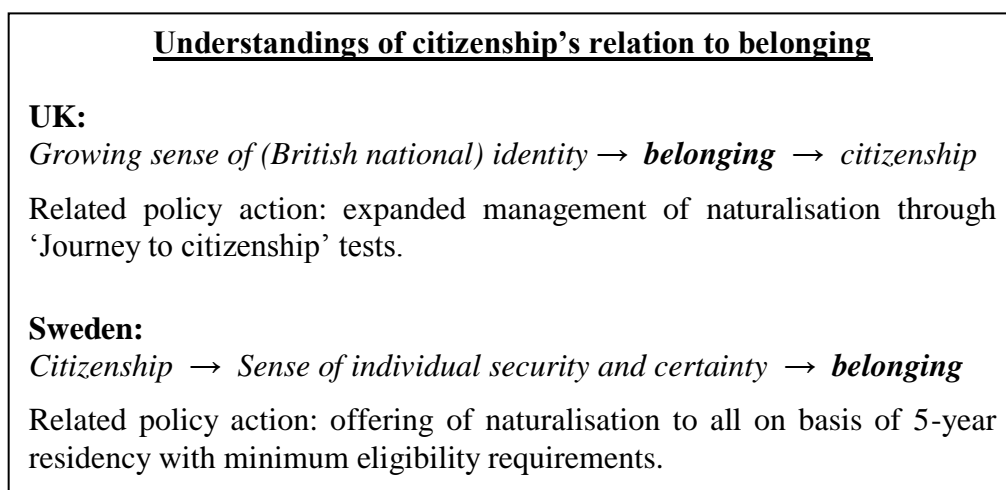


Figure 8. Understandings of citizenship’s relation to belonging.

Semantic struggles: ‘British’ and ‘immigrant’

In discussing the contrasts in conceptualisations of belonging and citizenship in the UK and Sweden each country’s own particular semantic fixation is indicative of where the discursive tone lay. In Sweden, the period studied was dominated by rather fated attempts to problematise - and indeed even overcome - the use of the term ‘immigrant’. In the United Kingdom, as touched upon above, debate centred on the possibility, or otherwise, of defining ‘Britishness’.

There was a strong emphasis in Swedish integration and citizenship policy on the need to overcome the tendency to focus on ‘immigrants’ and how policy could *specifically* respond to them. It was argued that this created a dangerous context

where ‘immigrant policy’ was seen as something particular and distinct from *general* policy developments and the mainstream society of Swedes. The attempt to make the term ‘immigrant’ seem less excluding also related to the movement away from using ‘multiculturalism’ and the use instead of ‘diversity’. As an idea, multiculturalism was seen as having implicitly excluded native-born ‘normal’ Swedes. Diversity was seen as a way of drawing attention to difference while recognising that it could exist in all sorts of spheres and refer to the reality of everyday experience for all residents in Sweden. The use of ‘immigrant’ as a category was also problematised and there was particular criticism of the lingering use of the term ‘second generation Swede’ which, at the time of writing, has now disappeared from official discourse. The Swedish discussion can be seen as attempting to remove any content of meaning from the term ‘immigrant’ and make indistinct the boundaries between those who had migrated to Sweden and those who were born there.

A comparable semantic debate took place in the UK. However, as seen in Chapter 7 this had quite a different focus and was concerned with what, if anything, the content of ‘Britishness’ was. Some, like Blunkett, were willing to talk in broad terms about Britishness as a combination of values, history, place and culture. However, for most interviewees and to some extent in policy material there was an identifiable apprehension about the apparent need to define, or at least be able to talk about ‘Britishness’ in a substantial sense.

It is interesting to contrast this attempt to neutralise the stigmatisation that was associated with the term ‘immigrant’ with the different UK focus on ‘Britishness’. For the purposes of this discussion it is not the problematisation of the terms per se that is of greatest interest but rather the epitomisation of the cases through their specific semantic anxieties. The foci can be seen as symptomatic of the way in which the relationship between belonging and citizenship is conceptualised in each of the cases as a process. In the UK, the development of policy toughening the naturalisation regime and conceptualisations of belonging as principally about national identity had highlighted this process as about *giving the status of*

Britishness. In Sweden, the introduction of explicit acceptance of dual or multiple citizenship and the worries about problematic categorisation meant that the way in which the process was conceptualised can be described as about *removing the status of 'immigrant-ness'*.

In both cases citizenship provided a way of giving content to ideas of belonging. This was however with quite different points of emphasis. In the UK there was an explicit focus on values and the endeavour to link them to the naturalisation process was the foremost attempt to give content to Britishness. In the Swedish case there was a more implicit handling of Swedishness, where the term itself was downplayed and the link between citizenship and belonging – and indeed integration - is the idea of a content of equality and individual security ('trygghet'). The contrast between the UK focus on values with the Swedish emphasis on equality is the focus of the following section.

3. Finding content for citizenship: values and equality

The ideas of equality and common values are central in their respective cases. The conceptualisation of citizenship as related to thinking about equality has been discussed in the Swedish empirical chapters and as noted forms the final part of the 'trinity' of understandings of what citizenship is about in the Swedish case. Although conceived in different ways thinking about belonging and integration is, of course, also central in the UK case and interestingly, the idea of 'common values' also provides a bond between these two key ways of conceptualising citizenship. The recognition and development of common values provides an objective for the process of integration and gives a possible and plausible content to difficult discussions of belonging and Britishness; it was a way to give substance to the meaning of citizenship. In principle, the aspiration of policy is that the journey to UK citizenship will lead to an 'integrated' individual with a British sense of identity based on the sharing of common values. Chapter 7 noted how multiculturalism was increasingly downplayed both as a policy approach and as a description of society and interviewees talked of a shift in focus from a 'celebration of difference' to an emphasis on shared concerns and values. Akin to the idea of

Britishness itself, 'common values' were difficult to definitively express and they were described in abstract terms as being about respect and tolerance, or as in the citizenship ceremony pledge, as 'democratic values'.

The comparison with the Swedish emphasis on equality is fascinating as the idea of equality plays a similar role in the Swedish case in linking thinking about how citizenship is conceived in relation to integration and belonging. As discussed in preceding chapters 'equality' was (and remains) explicitly one of the 'pillars' and objectives of Swedish integration policy. As noted above, the idea of equality and its pursuit as something that characterises 'Swedishness' has also, perhaps paradoxically, strongly influenced the way in which belonging is conceptualised in the case. Individuals naturalising to Swedish citizenship were argued to have the right to equal certainty, security and sense of belonging in Swedish society, regardless of whether their national identity was Swedish or not.

The pivotal role of ideas of equality can be seen in the legislation on dual citizenship. A crucial rationale was that the earlier position on naturalisation was unfair and unjust since it excluded some people from being able to achieve a sense of certainty and equality in Swedish society. Olauson explained the justification for dual citizenship as 'a question of equality, justice and freedom' stating that regardless of where one originally came from '[one] should be able to hold contact with your family and do what others do'. This extended to an egalitarian sense of the right to belong with equality being understood as being able to feel one's own sense of identity while feeling secure and certain within Swedish society. In the Swedish conceptualisation of citizenship, equality was expressed then as a rationality about fairness. 'Fairness', in opposition to arbitrariness, was the reason given for a lack of language or other testing as a requirement for naturalisation. The thinking was that a test would, by its very nature, make citizenship qualified and exclusive and that this was unfair. As noted in Chapter 5, Messing argued simply that citizenship is and should be, 'the same for all'.

Two key points of contrast and comparison are discussed here. Firstly, the disparity that exists in the cases with regard to what the respective citizenship policies see as the subject of change. Secondly, the similarity in the way that both countries concentrate on ways of giving content to the idea of citizenship rather than defining it in opposition to others.

Common values held by individuals. Equality guaranteed by the state.

As introduced above, a key observation was that a major contrast existed between the two cases in where the respective policies laid focus on the need for change. In the UK case focus is on the individual; in Sweden it is on the societal and state level. In thinking about citizenship as connected to the idea of ‘common values’ in the UK it is the individual that is expected to display tolerance, democratic values and the like. In Sweden rather, it is the expected characteristic of the state. In the UK case, the senior home office official spoke of integration as the ‘acceptance of core assumptions’ by those individuals taking citizenship while in Sweden the equivalent civil servant, Johansson, talked of the dual citizenship reforms as about the state providing equal rights and fairness.

A clear example of this can be seen in the way UK rhetoric emphasised the need for individuals who wished to naturalise to show that they brought advantage (normally in economic terms) to the country. In contrast Swedish policy-makers saw it as uncontroversial to remove the clause that had allowed citizenship to be given ‘for the good of the country’ and emphasised that the granting of citizenship should be a right for individuals, not a process for the good of the state. As Hermansson put it: ‘we wanted to get away from the idea that the government could have any special competence to choose who could receive citizenship’. Thus, Swedish policy actively emphasised that it is the individual’s needs and not the state’s that should guide naturalisation. Messing maintained that in reforming the citizenship legislation: ‘it wasn’t a question of whether there were 200 or 200,000 who’ll take dual citizenship – what’s interesting is that one can take it if one wants to.’

What is intriguing here is that in the UK emphasis is placed on the individual, and expectations of the individual, in citizenship discourse. In Sweden, conversely, the weight of expectations are rather of the state and what it can provide. Equality is something the state delivers; common values are something individuals have. At the surface the tone in policy discourse can appear similar – in both cases there is plenty of talk about the particular benefits both to individuals and society as a whole. Nevertheless, study of the empirical material reveals that the rationalisation of how both society and individuals benefit is quite distinct in each case.

In the Swedish case, the Citizenship Committee moved beyond the traditional worries about how dual citizenship could challenge the state's integrity and instead focused principally on what was good for the individual. As discussed above the focus here was on providing a feeling of certainty, belonging and security in Swedish society. It is important to be clear that the primary focus for gain was understood to be the individual. It was a secondary, albeit associated and coveted benefit, that the legislation through advantaging individuals would in the long-run be good for Swedish society and the state.

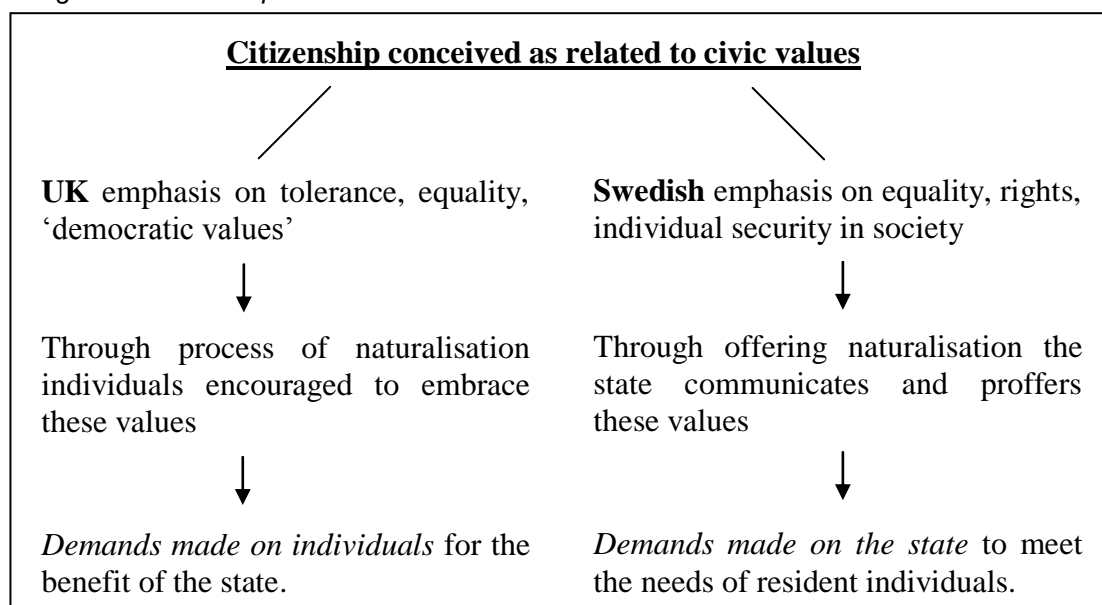
In the UK case, the work of the Life in the UK committee focused on how citizenship could help to counteract worries of (ethnically-based) societal division and support a common sense of identity and shared values. What was good for the state and UK society required changed behaviour on the part of individuals - learning about citizenship and developing language skills. Thus, as Tony Blair contended in the foreword to *Controlling Our Borders*, legislation was required to support the state's needs, although again, a clearly interconnected and auxiliary advantage was that in the long-run the changes introduced were also beneficial and good for individuals.

Citizenship is plainly emphasised in a non-ethnic, civic sense in both cases. In the UK case, Britishness and content of citizenship is conceived as based on shared civic values; as *The New and the Old* put it, a respect for common 'institutions, values, beliefs and traditions'. These are in principle open to anyone regardless of

ethnicity, if they complete the ‘journey to citizenship’; the need as Blunkett put it to ‘understand and achieve’, which in theory will support loyalty to and a belief in the state. The UK emphasises the non-ethnic nature of citizenship where civic values are open to all, and can be accessed by an individual who shows a ‘belief in the state’. In Sweden in contrast citizenship was conceptualised as signalling equality and that civic values are guaranteed to all by the state. There was a clear distancing from any notion of selective naturalisation processes or ideas of who is ‘good’ for the country. The key thrust in Sweden, as illustrated by Messing above, was that there should not be any distinctions. In both cases then there is a strong civic conceptualisation but the policy assumptions that are drawn from this are quite different in both cases.

Chapter 2 noted how Brubaker discussed what he saw as the increasing emphasis on ‘*commonality* rather than difference’ in citizenship policy and Joppke’s observation that this commonality is often expressed in indistinguishable terms like tolerance, democracy, equality and so on. This has proven to be so in the two cases studied. Nevertheless, the clear distinction comes in the way that common civic values are conceptualised. In the UK this commonality is expressed through stressing *duties* and *expectations* of the values citizens will hold while in Sweden commonality of values was more strongly articulated through an emphasis on an equality of *rights* and expectations of what the state should deliver for citizens (and potential citizens). These differences are pointed up in the figure 9 below.

Figure 9. Citizenship conceived as related to civic values.



Lack of 'othering' in policy: citizenship as what we are rather than who we're not.

Joppke has reflected on the way in which policy in different states may be attempting to conceptualise citizenship in 'replicas of the self-same idiom of liberal democracy' (Joppke 2007:45). This was a point that interviewees in both cases were well aware of. McCartney²⁰⁹ stated that discussion around Britishness 'causes more heat than light' and Clarke noted the way that using citizenship as an 'umbrella term' provided a less-problematic way of making broad generalisations about values and belonging. As discussed earlier there was not the same strength of discourse in the Swedish case around Swedishness in relation to common values, but nonetheless interviewees were aware of the unavoidableness of occasional bland phrasing in trying to summarise what citizenship was about. Discussion above has shown how surface similarities in language may mask quite different fundamental assumptions but it is interesting also to think about what *role* these 'self-same idioms' – of tolerance, equality or democratic values - are playing.

This thesis earlier discussed the way in which identity can be understood as a relational process (see Chapter 2) in which oneself or one's group is understood in relationship to others. Accepting what are at times perhaps rather insipid attempts at defining citizenship, what is nonetheless significant is where the focus lies in making these attempts. Policy and policy-makers in both cases endeavour to provide content to citizenship and national belonging rather than differentiate *their* citizenship and sense of belonging in opposition to others. In both the materials and in the interviews it was noteworthy that the emphasis lay in talking about *what we are* rather than *who we're not*.

This tone in the citizenship discourse was apparent in both cases. It was however particularly self-conscious in the Swedish case where the supposed risk of 'othering' was clearly recognised. As discussed in the Swedish empirical chapters, part of the critique of earlier (1970s) integration policy in Sweden was that it had encouraged thinking about immigrants as a distinct category and had led to what

²⁰⁹ Leonie McCarthy, member of Commission on Integration and Cohesion. Head of Peterborough City Council's New Link Centre, a 'one-stop-shop' to help asylum seekers, refugees and migrant workers integrate.

was criticised as ‘us and them’ thinking. The need to attempt to counter this was strongly argued both in the new integration policy and the work done by the Citizenship Committee.

The effort to move away from ‘us and them’ thinking and approaches was often apparent in conceptualisations of citizenship and the strong emphasis placed on equality. The debate around integration policy had stressed that issues should be addressed through general policy and the reluctance on the part of policy-makers to introduce testing in the naturalisation process was often expressed in these terms. The perceived risk was that this would place immigrants in a special category and accentuate their status as ‘not us’. Orback’s waving away of any such proposal (cited in Chapter 5) was hammered home with ‘no, no, none of this specific legislation’.

A substantial difference which relates back to earlier discussion is the predilection, almost fixation, in Sweden to worry about the language being used. A gentle paradox here is that while much of the discourse in UK around immigration and integration is about managing ‘them’ there is very little problematisation of this use of ‘them’. In Sweden worry was more focused on how to offer opportunity and equality to ‘them’ and a lot of energy spent agonising in what Orback called a ‘terminological obsession’ about finding ways of avoiding ‘them’ – immigrants - being referred to as ‘them’(!). The irony, of course, is that all the talk about ‘us and them’ reproduces the idea of difference; of a problem that needs to be overcome and thus creates a rather circular discussion.

There was not the same self-consciousness around this issue in the UK. In order to naturalise immigrants must now pass the citizenship test. Plainly this is treating them in a different way to those born to UK citizenship and – in the terms of the Swedish debate – creating and highlighting categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’. This should not distract however from the way that, despite this, policy is conceptualised in inclusive civic terms. Anyone who fulfils the residency requirements and has passed the test is able to naturalise and in the terms used here,

they can join, even become ‘us’. The approach – in policy at least - is an attempt to bolster content of what it means to be ‘us’ (common values) rather than conceive boundaries that differentiate ‘them’.

4. Changing national societies: citizenship and diversity

In both the United Kingdom and Sweden citizenship policy was contextualised by the idea of a changing national society. The conceptual framework considered the way in which globalisation has been theorised to be impacting on thinking about citizenship. Processes of globalisation are understood to have led to increased mobility and migration and society is conceived to be becoming progressively more plural and more diverse. As outlined above, these developments and ideas lead to disagreement about the continuing strength of state power, its authority, sovereignty and thus also the importance of national citizenship.

Shared challenge of globalisation; distinct tones in response

In the cases studied here, globalisation and its impact was recognised both in the policy material and by policy-makers as contextualising and influencing the way in which citizenship was conceptualised. There was a broad similarity in the UK and Sweden in recognising changing external contexts and the perceived need to (re-) state and emphasise the role of citizenship as basic membership of the political community. As noted above this was linked to an analogous recognition of problems that ‘multiculturalism’ was believed to have brought to the tones in which society was envisaged and it was increasingly interpreted as containing a risk of societal divisiveness and segregation.²¹⁰ Therefore the response of policy-makers was support for a description, articulation and ‘imagining’ of national society in arguably more cohesive terms as generally (and increasingly) diverse and pluralist. In both cases there was also recognition of the possibility – or even probability – of changing patterns of identity and belonging.

²¹⁰ Albeit that this critique and the reasoning in support of new terminology was phrased in quite different ways in the two case-studies. In the UK the idea of multiculturalism and the use of the term was often linked to ‘failure’, or at best disappointment. In Sweden it was more likely to be referred to as ‘misunderstood’.

There was then a strong general resemblance in the tone of policy in both countries in terms of comprehending the impact of globalisation and in interview the ministers responsible for bringing forth the respective legislation, Messing and Blunkett, both (unprompted!) took up globalisation as a contextual driving force for the changes to citizenship policy. Nevertheless, there were distinct differences in the way in which Sweden and the UK responded to the perceived challenges and interconnectedly, the way in which citizenship was conceived. As seen in the empirical chapters Sweden's citizenship legislation introducing dual citizenship was contextualised in policy as a response to the developments associated with globalisation, principally increased (im)migration and the concurrent growing diversity of Swedish society. Messing spoke of the need to send a 'signal' about how Sweden was meeting globalisation and emphasised mobility and more complex identities as the motivations driving her conviction of the need for the changes to citizenship legislation. For the country globalisation was predominantly viewed in positive terms:

'I welcome globalisation; I think it's fantastic that the differences between countries lessen. We've gained tremendously from it in Sweden – not only Ericsson! For a little country like Sweden with only 9 million inhabitants we've gained hugely.'

However, Messing also highlighted the way in which migration could affect individuals:

'But there's another side to the coin and as I grew up I met a lot of people who had come as economic migrants from Finland. Lot of school-friends in that situation and a lot of their parents lived in a rather isolated situation [...] Didn't really come into Swedish society, stuck to themselves and thought of themselves still as Finnish.'

In comparison with the Swedish case globalisation and the processes associated with it were perhaps a little less emphasised in the UK empirical material as a

whole. Nevertheless they still formed an important framework in thinking about why the introduction of the test regime for naturalisation was necessary. Blunkett spoke of how his interest in citizenship and ‘political literacy’ had earlier been principally an academic interest, but that this changed once he took office:

‘It was clear in government, before I was Home Secretary, that globalisation brought new insecurities, new fears, new instability. Which of course was massively reinforced once we had the attack on the World Trade Centre and the world felt much more destabilised – but it was there already, there in communities. [...] A combination of the disintegration of traditional working patterns, the breakdown of community [...] partly because of social mobility and physical mobility in terms of people living at greater distances, partly due to new communication, new media outlets – people were not doing things together the way they used to do.’

This mobility, uncertainty and instability meant new challenges were appearing for both individuals and for government and Blunkett did not underestimate how extensive and transformational these were:

‘Economically, employment-wise, socially, culturally, the world had changed. But government had not come to terms with that change or seen its role as being adjusted to help people through that change.

[...] All of that was a big change...I felt that this was now being accompanied by a change in demography and in people’s experience of those cultural and religious influences that subliminally affected their sense of themselves.’

It was from this rationale that Blunkett developed his idea of the *quid pro quo* and the ‘absolutely critical’ need for it was based on the challenges to national society that Blunkett identified in globalisation. What is important to note here is the way in which similar issues are emphasised in both the UK and Swedish case: growing

mobility; less certainty about an individual's place in society; economic and technological change impacting on social and cultural change – the classic characteristics of globalisation. As noted policy and respondents in both case-studies were keen to positively describe national society as growingly diverse and to stress the civic foundation of citizenship. However, there was a distinct difference in the tone in which these challenges were discussed and in the interpretation of how government and the state should respond.

This different thinking lay the ground for the way in which citizenship policy was conceptualised in the context of globalisation. As is clear from the distinct understandings of citizenship that emerge in the empirical material it also provided a foundation for what was emphasised as important in thinking about the role citizenship could play. In the Swedish case it led to a stress on what can be identified as a 'transnationalist' conceptualisation. This was recognition of what Chapter 2 described as 'the emergence of pluri-local modes of life' (Bommes 2005); the growing scale and intensity of migration was acknowledged to be impacting on individual's sense of place and of themselves and leading to a greater complexity of identity. This complexity was to be managed by embracing it and the encouragement of dual citizenship played this role. In addition such an approach was believed to help in confronting the risk of 'us and them' thinking discussed above. Again, citizenship played an instrumental role and naturalisation to dual or multiple citizenship was conceptualised almost as a process for allowing the expression of an individual's identity.

In the UK case the wish to articulate citizenship as civic in its conceptualisation, interestingly, and a little paradoxically, led to a concurrent description of citizenship – and UK society – as alternately both, 'multi-ethnic' and 'non-ethnic'. The need to counter the perceived challenges of globalisation and handle greater complexities of identity with a discourse of common values led to the idea of naturalisation as a journey to citizenship. Complexity was to be managed by restraining it. Thus, the promotion of citizenship as something of intrinsic worth, as something that should be achieved and earned played at the same time an

instrumental role in supporting the idea of common values and in adding content to discussions around Britishness.

In the Swedish empirical material there was significant evidence of a transnationalist position. Many of the interviewees expressed the feeling that there had been a need for legislation to in some way authenticate and acknowledge the increasingly ambiguous nature of contemporary identity. The Citizenship Committee had spoken of the incredible pace of internationalisation and the committee argued that individuals mobility, the increase in two-nationality families and the related development of more complicated sentiments of belonging meant that: ‘the wish therefore to be a citizen in more than one country has become more and more common’²¹¹ (SOU 1999:34: 202). Acceptance of this transnationalism was partially based on ‘practical advantages’ about where one could live and work and the ability to travel easily or return to one’s country of origin if one wished (Ibid.). However, as cited in Chapter 4 the most important advantage was seen to be the emotional stability and sense of security in Swedish society that individuals could gain through being able to take Swedish citizenship without the necessity of giving up their current citizenship. Swedish interviewees often used the word for ‘confirm’ or ‘substantiate’²¹² in explaining the way they conceptualised the role citizenship played for immigrants – it was an acknowledgement, an endorsement; recognition of their place in society and the complexity of their identity.

This can be seen then as Messing’s ‘signal’ about how Sweden was responding to globalisation. The comparison she made with Denmark was noted above and as minister she talked of citizenship policy as an important and necessary way for Sweden ‘to show that doors were not being closed’ and rather that changed conditions required increased openness. A key point here is that this way of thinking was underpinned by the idea of reciprocity and provides a clear contrast to the UK where, although the idea of mutual acceptance was talked about (Meehan, for example, spoke of ‘interculturalism’), there was the much stronger discourse of

²¹¹ ‘I takt därmed har önskemålen om att få vara medborgare i mer än ett land blivit allt fler.’

²¹² ‘att bekräfta’.

common values and attempts to furnish Britishness. In the Swedish case reciprocity was the way in which acceptance and inclusion of complex, complicated identities was understood to avoid contradicting integrationist aims. Hermansson talked of allowing people to *properly* express their identity and Magnusson spoke of understanding the increasing diversity in Swedish society as leading to greater ambiguities about identity and recognition of its changeableness and flexibility:

‘Then it’s necessary to have a sense of reciprocity, for when people meet one can’t take each other for granted. So if we’re going to go somewhere we both have to come to agreement about that. That’s reciprocity in the question of integration.’

Analysis of the UK material showed a comparable tone with the Swedish case in conceptualising the civic nature of citizenship and laying emphasis on societal pluralism. As Chapter 7 highlighted, *Controlling Our Borders* wrote of diversity as ‘a source of pride’ and as in Sweden there was recognition of a growing complexity of identity in a mobile, globalising world. However, there was also a stronger tension between this position and the perceived need to shore up Britishness as a collective identity and the use of citizenship and the idea of ‘common values’ to provide a container for this. This led to some uncertainty and the arguably contradictory yet simultaneous description seen above of the UK as both a ‘multi-ethnic’ and a ‘non-ethnic’ political community. The idea of course was to emphasise that ‘ethnicity’ was of no importance for the naturalisation process and that citizenship lacked any ‘ethnic’ feature.²¹³ There is an interesting if subtle distinction here between the cases which lays the ground for much more substantial differences. In the Swedish case reference to ‘ethnicity’ was less specific and vaguely coined as part of diversity. The position taken was more abstract; identity

²¹³ Although ‘ethnicity’ was fairly often named, there was not any active problematisation of the term. The existence of it as a categorising characteristic was accepted but the meaning of the term was not explored. It was used as a broad synonym for ‘difference’ - that might be based on skin-colour, language, religion or ideas as vague as background and heritage. However to exclude, judge or differentiate people on the basis of ‘ethnicity’ was clearly understood to be a bad thing and a position that needed to be articulated. Thus, emphasis was placed on ethnicity’s lack of importance. Either all ethnicities were of equal worth and the UK was ‘multi-ethnic’ or ethnicity was of no regard and the political community and citizenship was ‘non-ethnic’.

was complicated and changing. Recognition of that was understood as being about as far as the state and its legislation could go. As argued earlier, this can in large part be seen as a result of Sweden's root and branch revision of integration policy in the 1990s. The critique of the risks of a multiculturalist policy approach and an awareness of an arguable over emphasis on ethnicity (albeit as something that should not come in the way of individual's rights and opportunities) had led to a determination in Sweden to avoid 'us and them' constructions and evade unnecessary categorisation. In the UK a stronger aspiration to influence and affect the position can again be seen and there was a greater desire to find a way of more specifically giving content to specific categories of identity – 'Britishness' and citizenship. Many of the UK interviewees were aware of the risk of attempts at category definition and displayed discomfort and unease with the discussion; nevertheless they still needed to engage in a way that the Swedish respondents did not. This led to particular ways of conceiving citizenship. Firstly, in order to combine the perceived importance of citizenship with the articulated respect for diversity or the UK's 'multi-ethnic' nature, there was a temptation to flirt with the idea of hyphenated identity. Interestingly this could be conceptualised as what might be called a 'civic-ethnic' hyphenation where British was a civic identity connected to citizenship and post-hyphen there was place for a 'religious or ethnic identity'. When asked how deliberate the discourse of acceptance of dual or hyphenated identity was the senior home office official's response was: 'very, think of ethnic monitoring forms'.

Secondly, where reciprocity was emphasised in the Swedish case as the way to bring together integration and diverse senses of belonging, in the UK the focus lay on the idea of 'common values' and the conceptualisation of naturalisation as a 'journey'. Koslowski discusses the contemporary 'problem of identity' as 'modern states try[ing] to construct solid and stable identities for individuals while postmodern individuals "keep their options open" by acquiring a second nationality' (Koslowski 2000:149) and this sort of divergence can be seen in the approach of the two cases. There is a substantial contrast in the way in which policy's impact on the individual in the Swedish case aspired to an openness to

transnationalism while in the UK there were instead expectations of how individuals would be influenced through the process of naturalising to UK citizenship.

Thus again the point is reinforced that, in Sweden, citizenship policy's response to the challenge of immigration and globalisation was the notion that the state ought to respond to the changing environment and changing norms and needs for individuals. In the United Kingdom the state's response in relation to citizenship was alternatively conceptualised as the need to shore up what had before perhaps been taken for granted: a sense of loyalty to the state and of belonging based on national identity and common values. This assessment of globalisation led to the idea of naturalisation - and arguably the need for it to be conceived - as a process, as the achievement of 'good' citizenship, as a journey. In turn this understanding of what naturalisation meant for the individual interplayed with and underpinned belief in the necessity of a citizenship test and the emphasis on language learning in the UK case.

Of particular interest is the way that the idea of transformation acts as an underlying idea in the citizenship policy and empirical material in both cases. In the UK the focus for transformation is the individual while in Sweden, the policy spotlight fell more strongly on the need for transformation at the state and societal level. In the UK citizenship became conceptualised as an incentive, something to be earned through the - transformative - journey to citizenship. The Life in the UK Advisory Group argued that the examination of naturalising citizens' English language should not be of an absolute level but rather assess evidence of improvement. This was a proposal that the UK government accepted. The Advisory Group's aim was arguably an admirable inclusiveness but the conceptualisation of citizenship as something to be gained through a process and something to be awarded for effort is plain. The encouragement of citizenship was conceptualised as a way of stimulating individual improvement. Anderson noted how this linking of citizenship to expected ability or conduct had grown during the period studied

here commenting that: ‘the process of getting citizenship gets linked to behaviours that are seen as good citizenship’. He went on:

‘[There] is this interesting blurring between the status and behaviours [of citizenship]. [...] for a long time it wasn’t ok to say that people should learn English and should be expected to behave in a certain way – but it’s moved towards a view where we can say what we expect of migrants.’

The idea of transformation in the UK was then very much about expectations of the individual. The idea of active, participative citizenship that had been strong in the *Education for Citizenship* report and in thinking about citizenship in schools can be seen to overlap into expectations of the naturalisation process. This conceptualisation in the United Kingdom of citizenship as something the individual gave content to and as the result of incremental progress and development underpinned the metaphorical journey. This in turn played an important part in the way in which citizenship ceremonies were imagined. In the UK case the ceremony was to mark a ‘transition’ and the significance of gaining citizenship that had been earned.

The symbolism of ceremonies

The introduction of ceremonies in the United Kingdom and Sweden was the one major modification of citizenship policy that took place in parallel in both case countries. In comparing the purposes and visions expressed in the empirical material there are a number of similarities. Nevertheless, there are also substantial distinctions, principally in the more substantial expectations expressed in the UK case. In both cases citizenship ceremonies were conceived as something that had been introduced in response to the globalising context and as a way of welcoming new citizens. They were viewed as a symbolic, celebratory event which, particularly in the UK, drew attention to the ‘significance’ of citizenship. Similarly, as Chapter 5 discussed, the conceptualisation of naturalisation as a symbolic welcoming was strongly emphasised in the Swedish case. Both the ministers interviewed, Orback and Messing, stressed ceremonies as about welcoming those

who had naturalised to Swedish citizenship. The Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship argued that:

‘It is important that the acquisition of Swedish citizenship is acclaimed in some way. The Committee believes that the organisation of special ceremonies for new Swedish citizens is an appropriate way of indicating the importance of citizenship. The ceremony emphasises the fact that citizenship involves a right to be fully accepted by and involved in society and its shared interests. It is also important to emphasise that new citizens should be welcomed to Swedish society in a dignified way. [...] and that] the nature of a welcome [ceremony] is that participation is on a voluntary basis.’²¹⁴ (SOU 1999:34: 328)

Similar language was used in the legislation of 2001 with emphasis again placed on the dignified and voluntary nature of the ceremonies and the belief that they helped to emphasise that citizenship was about being unquestionably part of society (Reg. P. 1999/2000:147: 63). Although the prominence given to the ceremonies as ‘welcoming’ was less strong in the UK material, it was still of reasonable importance. Crick, the head of the ‘Life in the UK’ advisory group also spoke about the need for symbolism and when asked about the purpose of the ceremonies responded – in interestingly similar terms to the Swedish legislation - that they were: ‘Welcoming; to give dignity to the whole process’.

More common in the UK was the stressing of ceremonies as significant. There was strong emphasis laid here by Blunkett and the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*, which led to citizenship ceremonies, argued that they ‘will give added significance to acquiring citizenship’ (Home Office 2002:34). The White Paper

²¹⁴ ‘Det är angeläget att förvärv av svenskt medborgarskap manifesteras på något sätt. Anordnande av särskilda ceremonier för nya svenska medborgare är enligt kommitténs uppfattning ett lämpligt sätt att markera vikten av medborgarskapet. Genom ceremonin framhävs det faktum att medborgarskapet innebär en rätt att på ett fullvärdigt sätt delta i samhällets intressegemenskap. Vidare är det betydelsefullt att de nya medborgarna hälsas välkomna till det svenska samhället under värdiga former. [...] Det ligger i sakens natur att ett välkomnande skall ske på frivillig basis.’

went on to talk of ‘celebrating the acquisition of citizenship’ and argued hopefully that ‘group ceremonies may reinforce the collective and community nature of citizenship’ (Ibid). This vision of citizenship ceremonies as a communal occasion was shared in Swedish policy with the legislation in both countries emphasising the role of local councils in organising the ceremonies. *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* declared that ceremonies would:

‘Provide an occasion at which individuals and their families and friends can mark the acquisition of citizenship. It also offers an opportunity for the State, and the local community, to welcome formally its new citizens.’
(Home Office 2002:34)

Substantial similarities then were clear in how Swedish and UK policy conceived of citizenship ceremonies. Nevertheless analysis of the material also shows up notable disparities. The emphasis seen above on the ceremonies as significant, celebratory and welcoming tied to ideas about how citizenship was linked to integration and belonging. Both countries also robustly highlighted this link, the Swedish legislation asserting that the symbolism of ceremonies was of ‘considerable consequence for the process of integration’ (Reg. P. 1999/2000:147: 63) and *Integration Matters* talking of how the celebration of new citizens ‘contribute[s] to the integration of new arrivals into British society’ (Home Office 2005(b):67). However, as is clear in the discussion above, there is a dissimilarity in the way in which citizenship is conceived to relate to ideas of integration and belonging and the aims of the respective citizenship policies. This is reflected in the meanings attached to ceremonies particularly with regard to the UK conceptualisation of transition.

The idea of transition and transformation can be seen in discourses around citizenship in both case countries but in relation to the individual and citizenship ceremonies it is much stronger in the UK case with its metaphorical idea of a ‘journey’ through the naturalisation process. The previous chapter noted how

Blunkett spoke of the ceremony as ‘a genuine commemoration of the transition’ and in talking about the ceremonies Khan²¹⁵ said:

‘We felt there had to be some sort of celebration, some sort of marker: ‘You’re here now and this is actually really important, that you’ve become a citizen’. Not just about getting this passport, but there’s more to it than that. And the thinking was that these ceremonies could help.’

The idea of transition was also very clear in the way that, while a pledge is completely lacking in the Swedish case, in the UK ceremony the pledge was conceived as: ‘at the heart of the new citizenship ceremony and will be the point at which citizenship will be conferred’ (Home Office 2002:34). The pledge explicitly draws focus to the individual and suggests that there are certain qualities or values society and the state expect of them. It is worth restating again that the pledge is: ‘I will give my loyalty to the United Kingdom and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values. I will observe its laws faithfully and fulfil my duties and obligations as a British citizen.’ *The New and the Old* spoke warmly of the reference to democracy and the emphasis on respect of ‘each others rights and freedom’ (Home Office 2003:30) and Crick spoke of being ‘very happy’ that it mentions democracy and rights. In the UK case, the introduction of the pledge and the ceremony symbolically highlight the importance of how citizenship is conceptualised in relation to ‘common values’. Naturalisation was not simply about gaining citizenship as an equal political member of the state but, as Wintour put it, about commitment and symbolism: ‘that’s articulated at the point of the ceremony where we ask people to stand up and make a declaration of what it means to become a British citizen. And I think that’s not an unreasonable position for any nation to take’.

In the UK, taking the pledge and participating in a citizenship ceremony became mandatory for naturalising citizens in 2004. As the citation above made clear, this

²¹⁵ Nargis Khan, member of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion. Previously involved on one of the Cantle Report’s working groups.

is not the case in Sweden and the Swedish emphasis on citizenship's hoped-for integrative role in providing confidence about one's place in society was at the forefront of Swedish policy discourse, playing the role of 'common values' in the UK. The idea the Swedish policy-makers tried to promote was that of naturalising citizens joining society's 'community of interests' and an egalitarian sense of them having a right to belong. In discussing the option of holding citizenship ceremonies on Sweden's national day the Citizenship Committee argued that a plausible advantage was that it gave 'society a good opportunity to get 'Swedes' to notice that those participating in the ceremonies are not forever foreigners but rather Swedish citizens'.²¹⁶ They went on to emphasise that, 'knowledge that citizenship signifies a right to be fully accepted as a participant in societies shared interests can influence native citizens' view of naturalised citizens'²¹⁷ (SOU 1999:34: 326&332). The analogy was to a confirmation, an endorsement of new citizens' position in society rather than the highlighting of a transition.

Interestingly the similarities, comparisons and distinctions between the two case countries' approaches to citizenship ceremonies provide a partial précis of some of the key issues arising in the conceptualisations of citizenship discussed here. The way in which ceremonies were conceptualised in both cases are summarised in table 3 below and the distinct emphases are demonstrated in figure 10.

²¹⁶ 'Samhället har en bättre möjlighet att göra "svenskarna" uppmärksamma på att de människor som deltar i ceremonierna inte är utlänningar för all framtid utan svenska medborgare.'

²¹⁷ 'Kunskapen om att medborgarskapet innebär en rätt att på ett fullvärdigt sätt delta i samhällets intressegemenskap kan påverka infödda medborgares syn på naturaliserade medborgare.' This includes the same turn of phrase around 'samhällets intressegemenskap' (literally 'society's community of interest') as in the citation two pages above. I have translated slightly differently in order to try to do full justice to the breadth of the term.

<u>Conceptualisation of Citizenship Ceremonies</u>		
UK	Both	Sweden
<p>Mandatory.</p> <p>‘Transition’, pledge, receipt of citizenship as something valued intrinsically and ‘earned’ (evidence of integration to ‘common values’ linked to Britishness)</p> <p>Draws attention to individual transition and supposed loyalty to the state.</p>	<p>Symbolic, significant, celebratory. A communal event and welcoming.</p> <p>Integrative (albeit conceived in different ways)</p>	<p>Voluntary.</p> <p>Participant gaining citizenship as something ‘by right’ (aids integration by symbolising equality of belonging)</p> <p>Draws attention to societal change and supposed ‘certainty’ of belonging of the individual.</p>

Table 3. Conceptualisation of citizenship ceremonies.

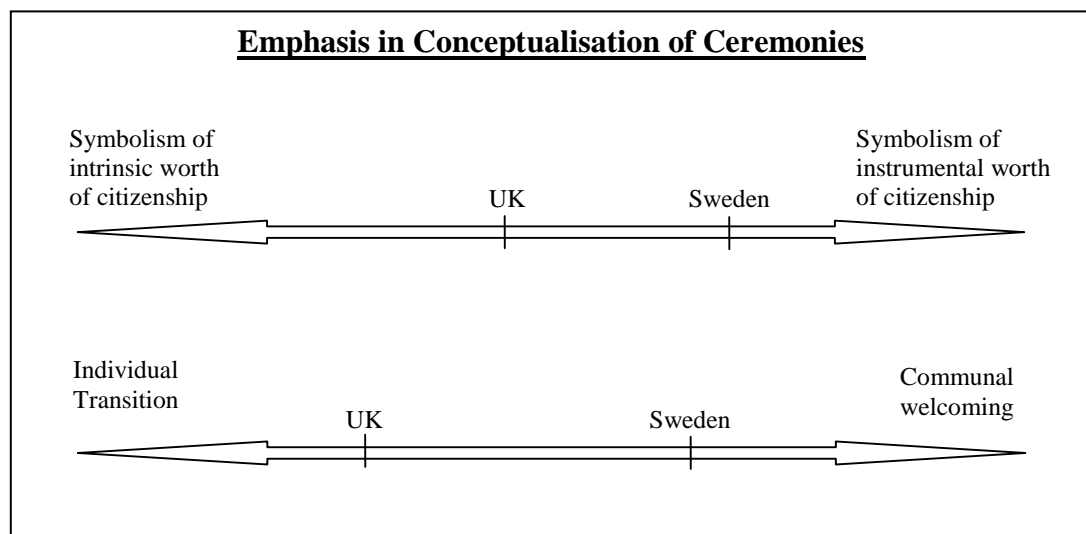


Figure 10. Emphasis in conceptualisation of ceremonies.

In Conclusion

As the first part of Section III this chapter works intimately together with the following - and concluding – Chapter 9. For that reason no systematic concluding summary is given here in order to allow immediate progression.

Chapter 9. Concluding Discussion

Comparable Analyses, Distinct Conceptualisations

This aim of the research underpinning this thesis was, to repeat the phrasing from Chapter 1, to assess and analyse ‘what conceptualisations of citizenship emerge in policy thinking around naturalisation and how these conceptualisations have been articulated in citizenship policy and by policy-makers in Sweden and the United Kingdom’. Chapter 2 discussed the way in which citizenship has been understood in the literature as contextualised by and associated with thinking about integration, (national) identity and ideas about societal pluralism. In the empirical material discussed and analysed above in Chapters 4-8 these themes appeared strongly in the conceptualisations of citizenship identified.

A general finding of this research is then, that broadly and perhaps unsurprisingly, the empirical material corroborates the wider conceptual understandings of citizenship found in the literature and presupposed as this work began. In both the Swedish and UK cases policy-makers identify contextual driving forces which are to a fair extent analogous. The challenges of globalisation and migrant integration, recognition of the complexity of belonging and the desire for a civic emphasis in citizenship were common to both cases. However, despite these comparable analyses in terms of determining the contextual factors that were affecting citizenship there were quite distinct policy responses. Each country displayed particular foci in reforms and substantially different understandings of how citizenship and naturalisation could and should be used as policy tools. Previous discussion has noted how instrumental ideas about citizenship helping integration were strongly present in both cases but how conceptualisation of the link between the two concepts was notably dissimilar. Ideas of belonging were also at the fore in both Swedish and UK policy-makers perceptions of citizenship, its meaning and role. Yet the conceptualisation of belonging in terms of, and reference to, national identity was discovered to be much stronger in the UK case than in Sweden. As considered in detail above, the idea of ‘certainty’, of confidence of one’s place in

society, was found to be more important in the Swedish case. It was accentuated as the way in which ‘belonging’ provided content to ideas of citizenship.

From fairly similar analytical starting points the United Kingdom and Sweden chose very different emphases in both the subject and tone of major policy reforms. The reformulation of Swedish integration policy and a major state supported inquiry into citizenship led to the introduction and indeed promotion of dual citizenship early in the decade. This substantial reform quickly became a self-evident position in the way citizenship was talked about and conceived. The same enquiry and subsequent legislation ruled out naturalisation testing while supporting increased ‘status’ for citizenship and the role of welcome ceremonies for those newly naturalised. During the period covered, the United Kingdom also saw important legislation change the approach to naturalisation. Citizenship ceremonies were introduced and most importantly a testing regime for language ability and general knowledge ‘useful to citizenship’ was established. Again, this is a position which became rapidly accepted. However, in the UK it has provided the foundation for further incremental reforms, expanding testing to those seeking permanent residency and currently ongoing changes relating to the idea of ‘earned citizenship’.

Thus, a further general finding of the research is that the comparable broad analyses of the context affecting citizenship led to notably divergent policy actions. During the period of study the cases were travelling in quite different directions and as assessed in detail above – and despite some similarities – quite different ways of thinking about and conceptualising citizenship were clearly apparent. As the discussion of Chapter 8 has shown this is where the detail of the specific conceptualisations, in showing how citizenship is understood in the respective cases, becomes particularly interesting.

A ‘Conceptual Space’ for Citizenship

Chapter 2 discussed ways in which attempts have been made to categorise ‘ideal types’ of citizenship. Koopmans and Statham’s idea of a ‘conceptual space’ that

helped to map understandings of citizenship was argued to be of noteworthy interest and a slightly adjusted model was proposed. The empirical chapters' discussion and analysis consciously avoided referencing these categories in following the methodological aims of the research to allow the character of the material to lead the coding process and the identification of conceptualisations. Nevertheless, it is clearly of analytical utility to return to the aims of Koopmans and Statham's model in helping to illustrate the conceptualisations of citizenship that have emerged in this research and particularly as an aid to demonstrate the differences between the cases. The particular advantage of the model is the way it highlights tensions and once more draws to attention some of the most important frictions that have been apparent in the analysis above. An endeavour is thus made below to map different aspects of the conceptualisations identified in the thesis on to the model. However, before doing so it seems necessary to again note the limitations of such models. Conceptualisations of ideas as problematical as 'citizenship' are inevitably complex and – particularly when presented in two dimensions – contradictory. This is why the research did not use pre-conceived categories in carrying out the empirical work and not all the conceptualisations can be discussed in the context of the models. For example, understandings of citizenship as related to equality are difficult to map into the conceptual space but come through in other conceptualisations. Despite the unavoidable simplification it is nevertheless felt that something important is gained by clarifying and depicting the thesis's findings through the models produced below.

In uncovering the conceptualisations of citizenship discussed in this thesis it has been made plain that the policy context in which changes to citizenship policy took place were important. Both cases saw the development of ideas about integration and the assertion from policy-makers that it was beneficial to 'raise the status' of citizenship and link it more closely to integration policy. During the period studied there was also a widening sense in both cases that multiculturalist thinking or 'multiculturalism' as a term itself had not 'quite delivered' and worries that increasing immigration and diversity could heighten the risk of segregationism. Articulation of this anxiety often operated as a justification for the changes being

carried out. For policy-makers then the position that Koopmans and Statham categorise as ‘ethnic segregationism’ was a fear that provided a stimulus and starting point to thinking.²¹⁸ The thesis has considered and analysed in detail how the context of this thinking lay concurrent with the policy actions taken and an attempt to plot the conceptual impact of these is made below. In placing the introduction of naturalisation tests and ceremonies (in the UK) and the expansion of ceremonies and the full acceptance of dual citizenship (in Sweden) within the ‘conceptual space’ it is important to make clear that the arrows endeavour to show conceptual direction and emphasis. They should absolutely *not* be taken to mark some definitive start and end point or to indicate a quantified measurement of movement over the period analysed. They are not, as it were, drawn to scale. Rather, in highlighting conceptual emphasis the ‘movement’ of the arrows illustrate the ideas and tone of conceptualisations as both ‘push and pull’ in the terms of the model’s ideal types. They are used to draw attention to the directional trend, showing not only what conceptualisations ‘moved’ towards (i.e. made conceptually prominent or emphasised) but also what they ‘moved’ away from (i.e. conceptually downplayed or feared).²¹⁹

In considering figure 11 below it is clear that there is a robust and general movement downwards within the conceptual space. This is characteristic of a strengthening of a conceptually civic understanding of citizenship. There is also a lesser but identifiable movement leftwards, highlighting some change away from strong emphases on cultural pluralism towards a more culturally monist position.

The naturalisation test, introduced in the UK, is represented principally as a movement towards ‘civic assimilationism’. Such an ideal type emphasises civic

²¹⁸ This is not a judgement on previous policies or the actual *consequences* of earlier UK or Swedish citizenship or integration policy. Of interest here is, of course, the way policy-makers *understood* and reflected on the situation that they responded to through policy action. There was apprehension about the plausibility and risk of a situation akin to ‘ethnic segregationism’, which they attempted to counteract.

²¹⁹ This caveat holds for each of the illustrations used here and of course, draws attention again to the constraints of two dimensions. It also reemphasises that the use of these models to simplify and highlight findings should be placed alongside the narrative and arguably more nuanced exposition of the study’s findings in Chapter 8.

values and belonging and can be seen to cut across many of the justifications and ideas seen in the empirical material in relation to the test. The test was about ‘life in the UK’, and was to provide ‘evidence of integration’ through naturalising citizens’ knowledge about the society and English language abilities. Naturalisation has in a sense *become* the citizenship examination and passing provides a status, which in the fuzzy ways discussed above is connected to Britishness.

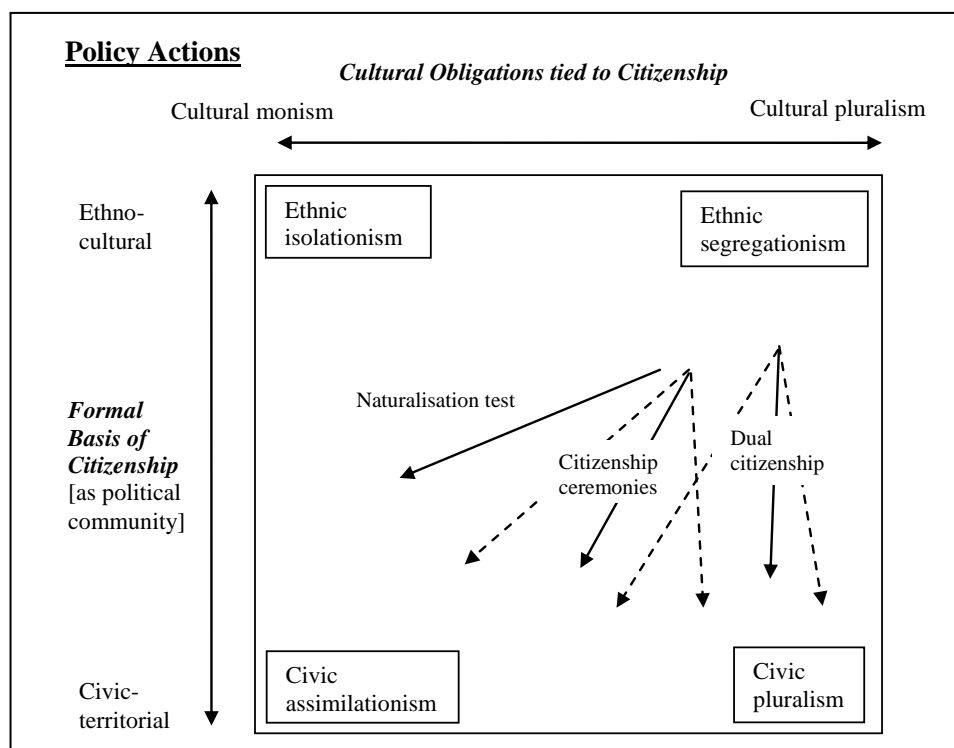


Figure 11. Policy actions in the ‘conceptual space’.²²⁰

Ceremonies are shown in the figure as a clear embracing of civic ideas of citizenship but the dotted arrows make clear that they can be read in different ways. The United Kingdom’s pledge and the idea of individual ‘transformation’ and ‘transition’ that was analysed above pushes leftwards and towards ‘civic assimilationism’ in the conceptual space. Alternatively, the Swedish notion of ‘welcome ceremonies’, and the conceptualisation of ceremonies as a tool for symbolising societal diversity can be viewed as pushing more directly downwards, perhaps even towards ‘civic pluralism’.

²²⁰ The arrows do not ‘begin’ in the centre of the model in order to show that policy thinking about citizenship wished to avoid, and conceptually pushed away from, images of ‘ethnic segregationism’. The function of the arrows was explained on the preceding page and as noted, their starting point is not meant as a commentary on earlier policy or its outcomes.

Dual citizenship, the major reform in the Swedish case, is also plotted in a similar manner; albeit positioned further within the cultural pluralist domain of the conceptual space. It is drawn as a strong movement downwards in the graph and the reasons for this are clear in the arguments and understandings discussed above. Dual citizenship was conceptualised as affirming that political membership does not need to be linked to ideas of ethnicity. It too is seen as being plausibly positioned in alternative ways. The slightly rightward – cultural pluralist - push that firms up a ‘civic pluralist’ position is seen as indicative of the Swedish understanding of dual citizenship where there was an emphasis on recognition of a multiplicity of identities and the ‘rationality’ of dual citizenship in a time of globalisation. Although far from a prominent issue in the UK case, dual citizenship was, of course, recognised as part of policy and as Chapter 7 noted *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* referred to this position in positive tones. When dual citizenship was mentioned it was in an integrationist sense that linked to wider UK policy. It could be speculated that its broad and almost entirely unquestioned acceptance may have provided an implicit weight that meant that the logic of policy reform was always movement in a civic direction. A naturalisation testing regime where the renunciation of previous citizenship was an additional prerequisite; and ceremonies that literally marked a fundamental rupturing of previous political memberships and which could truly be seen as ‘transitional’²²¹ would, conceivably, have been less inclined to consistently play down ethnicity as an issue.

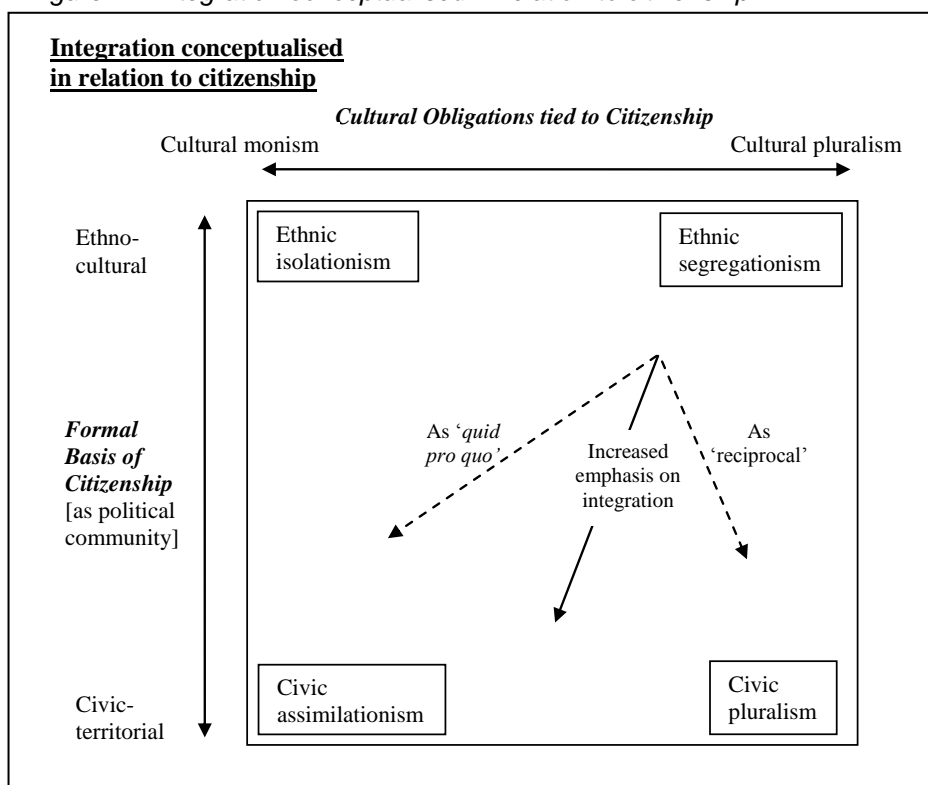
This discussion and the link between the policy actions and the conceptualisations found in the empirical study inevitably opens up to the plotting of some of these conceptual ideas. This is done below. Firstly, in illustrating the way ideas about integration can be shown in the conceptual space and secondly, by showing how ideas about belonging and citizenship and the way in which they were contextualised can be plotted. A further illustration also shows how the conceptual space of the model can be used to highlight the division between thinking about belonging and identity which shows tendencies towards essentialist understandings

²²¹ Naturally this might still be the case for individuals naturalizing in the UK who currently hold citizenship in states which reject dual citizenship. Nevertheless, the numbers affected in this way are substantially reduced by UK acceptance of dual citizenship.

and that which does not. Lastly, conceptualisations related to diversity are placed on the model and considered.

The two contrasting conceptualisations of integration that emerge from the empirical material and which were discussed and analysed above are plotted in figure 12. As noted, there was a UK emphasis on the naturalisation process as part of a *quid pro quo*, where the individual naturalising is seen as proving their integration to UK society through the process, the ‘journey’, of gaining citizenship. This is the idea that there is something immigrants ‘need to understand and achieve’ if integration is to be successful and can be understood as a movement towards the idea of ‘civic assimilationism’. The stronger prominence given in the Swedish case to the idea of ‘reciprocity’ in the integration process has also been assessed above. This position is plotted as a movement towards the ‘civic pluralist’ corner of the conceptual space and it is worth re-stating the way in which this conceptualisation was apparent in the material, where for example, Johansson stressed the way support for the ideas (and ideals) of reciprocity and societal diversity interplayed with one another.

Figure 12. Integration conceptualised in relation to citizenship.



The following two illustrations show how conceptualisations of citizenship as relating to belonging can be plotted in the model. Figure 13 attempts to show the way that the recognition in both cases of increasing complexity in patterns of belonging again robustly emphasises civic conceptualisations of citizenship.

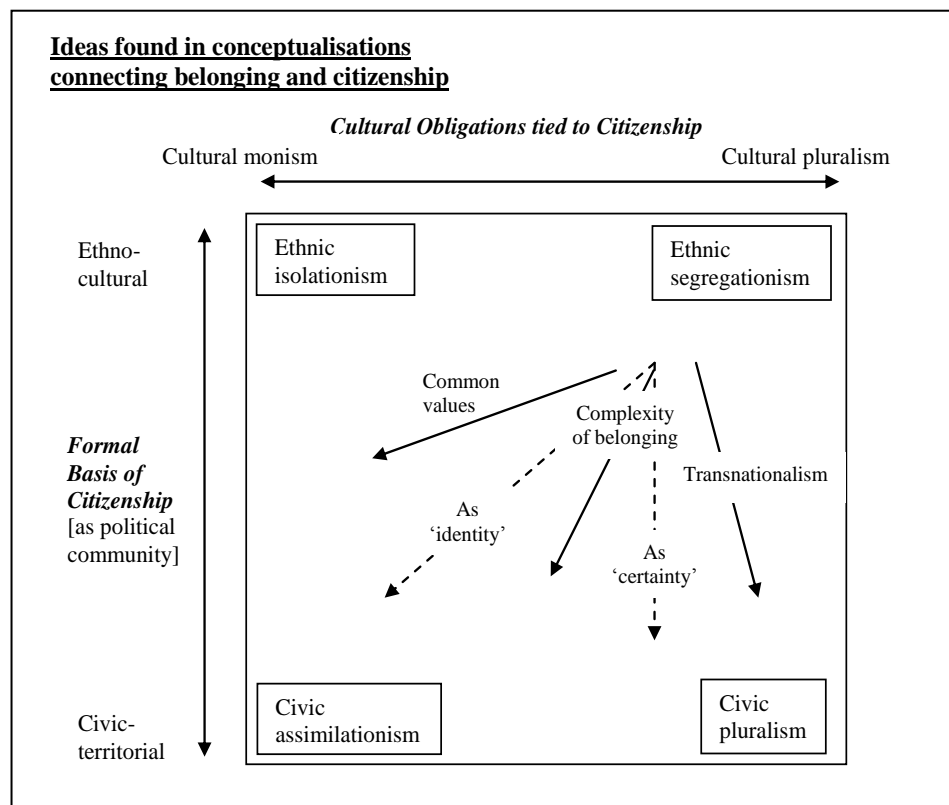


Figure 13. Ideas found in conceptualisations connecting belonging and citizenship.

The analysis has assessed the different understandings of belonging that came to the fore in the cases with the idea of 'Britishness' prominent in the UK and a sense of 'certainty' and 'security' about one's place in society ('trygghet') foremost in the Swedish case. These discursive formulations are plotted above and in reflecting the analysis it was also of interest to consider the way other important ideas intermeshed with and reinforced ways of thinking about belonging's relationship with citizenship. Thus, 'transnationalism' is drawn alongside 'belonging as certainty' and highlights the way in which the Swedish case deemphasised ideas of belonging as simply constituted by an unambiguous and specific sense of identity. Instead the idea of 'certainty' was played up as not only about knowing one had a place *in* society but also as knowing that one's way of understanding oneself was

accepted *by* society. This position, of course, was in turn supported by the conceptualisation of citizenship as about equality. Once again, the location of these understandings within the conceptual space has the Swedish case fortifying its civic pluralist tone. Similarly, ‘common values’ is plotted alongside ‘belonging as identity’ as a reminder and illustration of how the linking of belonging and ‘Britishness’ utilised this abstraction in the UK case. The analysis has shown how these two UK conceptualisations plainly interplayed in supporting the idea of citizenship as related to a recognisable content which could be provided through the ‘journey’ to citizenship that testing for naturalisation stimulated.

Figure 13 highlights how conceptualisations of belonging and identity and the way they connected to citizenship were concretely thought about in the practicalities of the case. That is, it shows the terms and content that were used to give meaning to the conceptualisations. In contrast figure 14 highlights how the conceptual space can be used to draw attention to abstract – and often implicit – understandings of what identity, as a quality, actually is. The model divides into conceptual sectors. In the first sector belonging and identity are understood in broadly ‘essentialist’ terms as relating to certain characteristic traits. This is the idea that there is something basic or fundamental, something essential and necessary in defining the category of the prevalent national culture. Alternatively, belonging and identity can be viewed in broadly pluralist, ‘non-essentialist’ terms as not having any fundamental or readily definable characteristics. Any line between these two understandings is inevitably a blurred boundary, but what is clear is that in three of the ideal-type corners ideas of identity and belonging can be fixed.

An ethnic conception carries a necessarily essentialist and fixed idea of belonging and identity as reliant on ancestry. It is unimportant whether the position taken is one of isolationism or segregationism; there is a common belief in identity and ideas of belonging as hard, settled and based on descent. Equally a ‘civic assimilationist’ position, in its cultural ‘monism’, is also arguably an essentialist stance; albeit that this is in a milder sense of shared cultural and civic traits. There is an openness to the idea of change and transition here that is not apparent in the

ethnic top-half of the conceptual space. However, despite this it is clear that there is still a conception of a core identity, of belonging based on common values. This could be described as a weaker ‘singularist’ position; the view that a definite, distinct identity exists and may be seen as rhetorically essential, but it is not a fundamental primordial essence, it can be learned. In contrast a non-essentialist view of belonging and identity is reliant on both a civic-territorial view and a culturally pluralist position and non-essentialist conceptualisations accumulate close to the civic pluralism ideal.

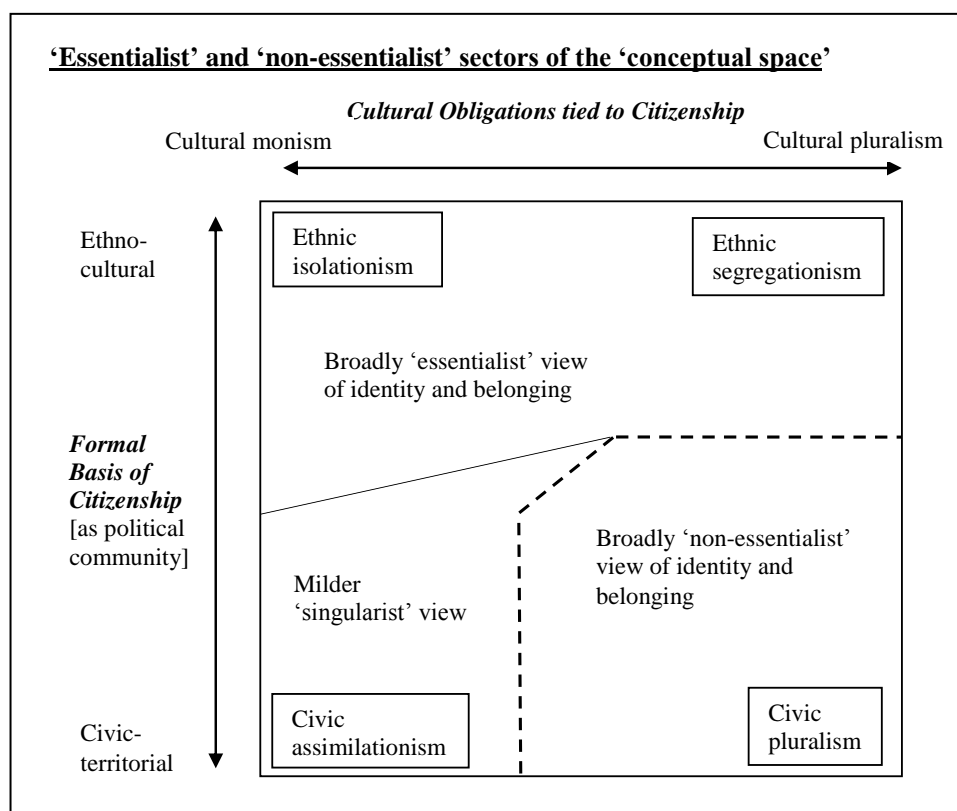


Figure 14. 'Essentialist' and 'non-essentialist' sectors of the 'conceptual space'.

It is possible of course to think about where the conceptualisations plotted in figure 13 would 'land' if superimposed on to figure 14.²²² It seems defensible to state that Swedish thinking falls fairly plainly within the non-essentialist section while UK conceptualisations display an ambiguous tension as they dally near the dividing line. This would seem to be an accurate reflection of the cases. The linking of citizenship to 'Britishness' and 'common values' was real in the UK case and

²²² This combining of the two illustrations has not been carried out in order to avoid being overly definitive or categorical in how the conceptualisations can be understood.

attempted to anchor belonging and connect it to citizenship. By definition the test symbolised assumptions about the necessity of particular knowledge and ideas. Nevertheless, as noted, there was also a discomfort in the way policy-makers expressed, almost as an obligation, the need to attempt to define Britishness or articulate 'common values'. Also, the non-ethnic/multi-ethnic entanglement mentioned above was an example of recognition by UK policy-makers of what could be seen as the modern complexity of belonging. These different and competing emphases in the UK case can be considered to be straining against one another around the point in the conceptual space where essentialist or singularist ideas about identity start to come into question. Variety in identity was positive and accepted, but at the same time it was best if it evolved around a particular, acknowledged point of commonality. The idea of a tension in the UK case around this point is further supported by the direction of thinking about diversity, plotted on the graph below and leading in a more culturally pluralist direction. Similarly, the Swedish position within an imagined 'non-essentialist' sector draws attention not only to an uncertainty and fuzziness in this 'complexity of belonging', but also stresses a looser interplay, a possible unbuckling, of the concepts of identity and belonging themselves. The strong Swedish emphasis on belonging as 'certainty' sat alongside a view of identity as something not definitive; rather it was something that could, and was likely to be, in an ongoing state of change and interpretation.

Before moving on to discuss the remaining illustration it is important to note that figure 14 also has substantial consequences for thinking about integration. If a citizenship regime sits on the 'essentialist' side of the line then there is an apparent need for definition of what integration is taking place *to*. As noted, this necessity can be seen in the UK emphasis on common values, agonising over Britishness, and the idea of transition or transformation upon naturalisation. In the essentialist section of the model, naturalisation is understood as crossing a line to a new identity; or in a milder version as having gained an acceptable (and required) level of knowledge and sympathy with a particular identity and culture. Such constraints are not so necessary in the civic pluralist corner - albeit that there exists the inevitable paradox of conceptualising belonging without defining it. In the rhetoric

of Swedish policy in the period, integration is seen as an ongoing evolving process of societal change rather than something individuals do; and the emphasis on belonging as ‘certainty’ can be understood as an attempted response to this paradox (of conceptualising belonging without defining it!).

The final use of the conceptual space maps the ideas present in both cases about a positive embracing or welcoming of diversity. The analysis above has made clear how these ideas separated in their interplay with the other conceptualisations of the cases. Nevertheless, it is worth showing in this illustrative form how there was a core similarity in the cases in supporting the idea of an increasingly pluralist society.

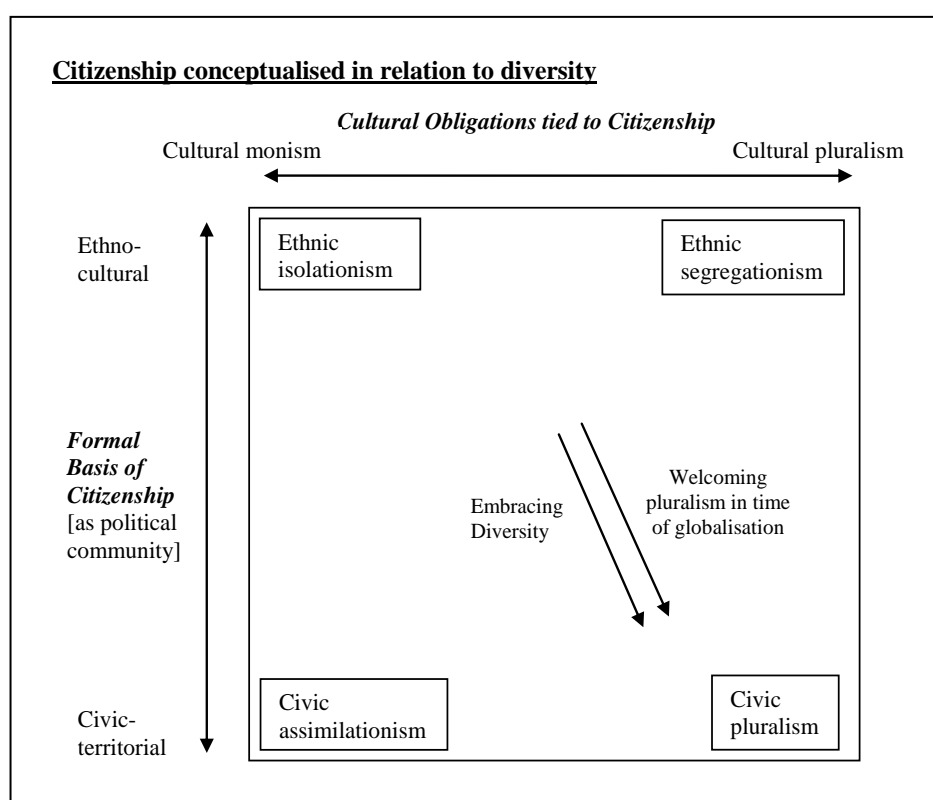


Figure 15. Citizenship conceptualised in relation to diversity.

This is shown in the conceptual space as a movement down and right, away from ethnicity-related ideas about citizenship and towards increasingly civic and plural conceptualisations. In the Swedish case this can be seen as in line with the other conceptual understandings plotted above; a solidifying of a ‘civic pluralist’ position that down-played both ethnicity and expectations about particular ways of being in

thinking about citizenship. The UK position was less straightforward and highlights the limitations of what can be shown through plotting on the model. The acceptance and indeed promotion of British society as increasingly pluralist and diverse was strong in the UK and comes through clearly in the discussion of Chapters 6 and 7. It is this position that is reflected in figure 15. Nevertheless, as noted above and considered in Chapter 7 there was a definite tension here between the acknowledgement of a wealth of disparate identities and the stated aim of furthering a sense of collective belonging. Usefully this illustrates once again that none of the conceptualisations discussed here should be seen as standing independently of one another. The strain between these different discourses in the UK case was itself partially resolved by the emphasis put on citizenship and its (plausible) content. As seen, the framework of citizenship smoothed and mellowed the sense of contradiction that attention to ideas of belonging, ‘Britishness’ and common values’ had when placed alongside accentuations of the UK’s ‘tolerance’ and ‘welcoming’ of diversity. The conceptual space of citizenship provided a way for these somewhat incongruous ideas to coexist.

What the models have illustrated

The models provide then a useful way of visually illustrating some of the core aspects of the conceptualisations that have been identified. They have made clear how conceptualisations in both cases were consistently about pushing away from ideas, or fears, of ethnic segregationism. The evidence for this is thick in the empirical material throughout the thesis: the wish to link citizenship more closely to integration; the deemphasising of ethnicity; the stress on diversity as something that was being positively embraced; or the accentuation of equality in the Swedish case and ‘common values’ in the UK. In general terms therefore it is apparent how policy and policy-makers in the two cases *did not* wish to conceptualise or formulate ideas of citizenship. Nevertheless, recognition by policy-makers of changing and more complex ways of constructing identity and the active responses in terms of descriptions of society as diverse, plural, (non- or) multi-ethnic laid the ground for quite different policy responses in the two cases. And concurrently, the broad terms in which citizenship was positively conceptualised differed quite

substantially. In the conceptual space of Koopmans and Statham's model UK conceptualisations clearly solidified the civic nature of thinking about citizenship. But movement leftwards in the model was also plainly apparent as attempts to give 'content' to citizenship and discourses of Britishness gravitated towards 'civic assimilationism'. Swedish conceptualisations led consistently downwards in the model, similarly emphasising a civic approach but drawn rightwards in the conceptual space towards 'civic pluralism'. As shown in the analysis this is apparent through the prominence of ideas of reciprocity, tones of transnationalism, and belonging expressed as about 'certainty', supported by a strong discourse and accentuation of equality.

The models have offered an appealing way of summarising the broad thrust of the findings of the research. However, in closing the discussion it is important to repeat that self-evidently they simplify the more layered and in-depth understanding of citizenship conceptualisations laid out above in the analysis of Chapter 8. For example, the horizontal axis in the model could be thought of as stretching from an 'emphasis on similarity' (cultural monism) to an 'emphasis on difference' (cultural pluralism). However, as stated earlier, the reality of the conceptualisations is more complicated than this; in the cases studied both similarity and difference were stressed in distinct ways. Swedish conceptualisations emphasised *similarity* of a right to belong. This led to the perceived need for certainty of acceptance of one's identity in order to feel secure within society; and this became the reason for acceptance of *difference*. United Kingdom conceptualisations positioned tolerance of – or blindness to – ethnic or cultural *difference* alongside a strengthening of the demands related to naturalisation and the need to promote common values, that is, *similarity*.

Closing remarks

The now sadly deceased Bernard Crick liked to talk about how citizenship was a different type of membership than just being part of an organisation or an

association with political objectives.²²³ In the thinking of policy-makers and the prose of policy documents a segment of the complexity of the idea of citizenship can be found. The research work reported upon here has been principally empirical and the discussion and analysis, with a sympathy towards grounded theory, has been empirically driven. It has been about discerning how citizenship was conceptualised in the United Kingdom and Sweden in relation to other conceptual ideas; how ‘citizenship’ was framed and understood in the policy and by the policy-makers that drove through the most substantial reforms to the process of naturalisation in recent times. A number of significant points have emerged and the findings have been made clear and analysed above. These are returned to in summary in closing the discussion below.

First, it is important to note that like in all academic work, the findings here only tell part of the story. Some aspects have not been dealt with and new questions can be raised as a result of the findings presented here. This work has not attempted to identify an explanatory variable for differences in either citizenship policy or the conceptualisations found in the cases. The research has been about mapping and understanding the idea of citizenship expressed by policy-makers in Sweden and the UK. And it has been about learning from reflections on both cases through a process of concurrent analysis. This analysis has shown that there were similar assessments by policy-makers in both countries about why citizenship and naturalisation became such a salient issue during the period studied. However, policy responses differed and, as has been shown, the substance of conceptualisations was also substantially divergent. It was noted early in the thesis that broad similarities existed in the cases. Both have experienced increased immigration inflows in the last two decades and during the period studied both countries were ruled by governments that may plausibly be broadly described as centre-left. Though not the objective here it would, of course, be possible to speculate or formulate hypotheses on a macro-level about more general socio-political, historical or economic reasons for the different conceptualisations that

²²³ This was a point Professor Crick made in the research interview and which he also argued in a public seminar at the University of Edinburgh in December 2005.

emerge in the findings here. One might aim to explain the cases in terms of political systems or colonial histories, bureaucratic structures, economic objectives, political cultural or a whole manner of other conceivable explanatory inputs.²²⁴ This work has also chosen not to attempt to deconstruct the policy process in the respective cases or make statements about the particular role of individuals. The visions of Blunkett and Messing clearly played a part in the development of thinking about citizenship; in the UK case in driving the agenda and in Sweden in securing political support for the proposals of the citizenship committee. Both also received substantial backing from their respective political bosses, Prime Ministers Blair and Persson and this, for example, is something that might be explored in more detail.

Most obviously, there is plenty of scope for further research work to be done in continuing to monitor conceptualisations of citizenship and their evolution. In the United Kingdom case particularly, developments have continued since the end of the period studied here. Interestingly this follows the sort of conceptual trajectories discussed and analysed above. A substantial government consultation with the theme, ‘the path to citizenship’, laid the foundation for the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Bill passed in July 2009. This will see the *quid pro quo*, the idea of ‘earned citizenship’, expanded in the UK in 2011 as a points-based test for naturalisation is introduced in order to further emphasise the idea, as the current minister puts it, that ‘being British is a privilege’²²⁵. In addition, and building further on the understanding of naturalisation as a transformative ‘journey’ that was assessed above, citizenship acquisition will be restructured as a two-stage process. Individuals will first hold ‘probationary citizenship’ before – depending on their ‘points’ – being allowed to take a further test to gain full citizenship.²²⁶

²²⁴ To re-emphasise, the aim here is not to make any such particular claim but to highlight how explanation might be sought. In a comparative sense such broad-brush accounts could, of course, throw up immediate objections. To take one example: both Denmark and the UK have introduced citizenship tests in the last decade, with Denmark’s being particularly stringent. Yet Denmark’s colonial history is almost as inconsequential as Sweden’s in the last century.

²²⁵ See UK Border Agency www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/newsarticles/2009/august/pbs-for-citizenship

²²⁶ The details of the points system are still being developed and a public consultation was undertaken during the autumn of 2009. For updated information see www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk

Sweden too may make a much more cautious move, in attempting to systematise its approach to providing ‘societal familiarisation’ information and classes to newly arrived migrants.²²⁷ A government commissioned report is due before the summer of 2010. At the time of writing this is not being explicitly connected to citizenship and in the longer term it will be of interest to see if Sweden continues to restrain from any form of expanding demands on naturalising citizens.

Conceptualisations of citizenship

This thesis has shown the significance of how citizenship is understood in relationship with other conceptual ideas. It has mapped the way in which ‘citizenship’ was constructed and conceptualised in the United Kingdom and Sweden during the period from 1994 to 2007. It has developed understanding of how the different conceptual aspects interplay and interlock with one another. The research undertaken and the analysis carried out led to a number of key findings. In the case of the United Kingdom, and the context of developments around naturalisation, conceptualisations of citizenship were found to be built on a foundation of ideas about citizenship’s link with integration and belonging, perceived as national identity. Concurrent with and supporting these central conceptualisations was thinking about citizenship that connected it to ideas about embracing societal diversity, emphasising common values and thinking about naturalisation as a transitional ‘journey to citizenship’. In the case of Sweden, again within the framework of developments around naturalisation policy, the crucial conceptualisations of citizenship were shown to be a trio of intermeshed aspects around integration, equality and belonging, perceived as a sense of certainty. This ‘trinity’ was buttressed by ideas about how citizenship could be thought about in symbolic terms and connected to a desire to appear welcoming to immigrants and particularly those naturalising. It was also framed by thinking about how the Swedish state and thinking about citizenship should respond to the context of globalisation.

²²⁷ See ‘faktablad’ www.sweden.gov.se/content/1/c6/13/59/89/b00c02ea.pdf, www.regeringen.se/sb/d/11291/a/134814

Section III of the thesis has placed the two cases alongside one another. This has drawn out and sharpened some further findings around the relative emphasis on content and boundaries, distinctions in understandings of integration and belonging, and contrasting expectations of individuals and the state. Although the idea of boundary-drawing or exclusion is inescapable in any kind of categorisation, it was found that there was a reluctance on the part of policy-makers to engage in, what theoretically is termed, ‘othering’ in any active way. Instead there was a hesitant articulation of the content or substance of citizenship, with ‘common values’ and British identity coming to the fore in the UK and rights to equality and a certainty of belonging prominent in the Swedish case. Likewise, analysis of the cases side by side has shown how a surface similarity between them may obscure considerable differences. In both cases there was an emphasis on integration in thinking about citizenship but strongly different ways of understanding how the concepts should interplay. The analysis has been clear on how the UK’s *quid pro quo* approach contrasted with Sweden’s softer stress on reciprocity. Similarly, ideas of belonging were prominent in conceptualisations of citizenship found in policy and expressed by policy-makers in both the cases. However, there was a substantial and revealing contrast in how this was expressed and this interestingly drew attention to the way in which belonging can be expressed conceptually in relation to citizenship as about something other than national identity. A further and final distinction also became more lucid in comparing the cases. In UK conceptualisations, citizenship and expectations around its meaning were more clearly connected to individuals and particularly those naturalising. Metaphorically individuals were to achieve citizenship through a transformative ‘journey’ and it was up to each to prove their worthiness as potential members of the state. In Sweden there was a stronger conceptualisation of citizenship in terms of entitlement and empowerment. Citizenship should be offered by the state in order to aid those broader political and societal goals.

In trying to work out both what and how ‘citizenship’ means, the research and study of this thesis has worked at the coalface of citizenship conceptualisations. Assessment and evaluation of policy actions and discussion of theoretical

categories are plainly of interest and value. Nevertheless, this research has shown that there is important evidence and understanding to be gained through engaging policy documents and policy-makers directly in the quest to comprehend how citizenship is conceptualised in different settings and to understand more fully the reciprocal concepts that contextualise it.

END

Appendices & Bibliography

Appendix 1: List of Swedish Interviewees

Luciano Astudillo

Member of the Parliamentary Committee on Integration chaired by Leif Magnusson. The Social Democrat's spokesman on integration from 2006 to date. Long-standing Social Democrat *debateur* on integration and citizenship issues.

Lena Bernström

Director General of the Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket) 2006-2007, Assistant Director 2002-2006, Head of Communications 2000-2002.

Karin Borevi

Secretary of the Commission on 'Power and Influence in the Politics of Integration' and editor of a number of its volumes. Author of 'Välfärdsstaten i det Mångkulturella Samhället' ('The Welfare State in Multicultural societies')

Nenad Duborija

Editor of the citizenship information material published by the Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket).

Tomas Hammar

Expert to two major Parliamentary Enquiries during the 1980s, on the question of dual citizenship, and on the 'question of voting rights for foreigners in parliamentary elections'. Long-standing researcher and commentator on 'integration' and citizenship issues.

Gunnar Hermansson

Director and (at time of interview) assistant head of the Division for Immigrant Integration and Diversity within the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. Hermansson has responsibility for and leads on citizenship issues.

Lars Johansson

Head (since 1996) of the Division for Immigrant Integration and Diversity within the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality. Johansson was also a member of the Parliamentary Committee on Immigrant Policy which produced the report 'Sweden, diversity and the future' in 1996.

Masoud Kamali

Chair of the Commission on Structural Discrimination 2004-2006 which evolved from Westholm's and published a number of report and anthologies.

Paul Lappalainen

Commissioner and analyst at the Equality Ombudsman. Author of the Public Enquiry *The Blue and Yellow Glass House: Structural Discrimination in Sweden* ('Det blågula glashuset') and an aid in writing the terms of reference for the review of Swedish citizenship laws.

Leif Magnusson

Chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Integration Policy from 2004 until its abolition in autumn 2006 (following the change of government).

Qaisar Mahmood

Secretary on the Parliamentary Committee on Integration Policy. Chief author of the 2005 report 'From a politics for immigrants to a politics for immigrants' ('Från invandrapolitik till invandrapolitik') published by the Swedish National Audit Office (Riksrevisionen).

Ulrica Messing

Minister for Integration from 1998-2000. In post at the time the new citizenship legislation was presented to the Swedish Parliament.

Britt Olauson

Chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Citizenship from 1996-1999 which produced the report 'Swedish Citizenship'.

Jens Orback

Minister for Integration from 2004-2006.

Birgitta Ornbrandt

The civil servant responsible for writing the 1997 proposition for integration policy. She has also worked as Head of Research at The Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket). Currently a special adviser to the Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality.

Paulina de los Reyes

Vice-Chair of the Commission on Structural Discrimination 2004-2006 which evolved from Westholm's and published a number of report and anthologies.

Hans-Ingvar Roth

Expert for the 'Parliamentary Committee on Policy for Immigrants' that produced the report 'Sweden, the future and diversity' (SOU 1996:55) and previously employed at the Department for Integration and Diversity. Now Associate Professor in Ethics, Stockholm Institute for Education.

Anders Westholm

Chair of the Commission on 'Power and Influence in the Politics of Integration'. ('Utredning om makt och inflyttande ur ett integrationspolitisk perspektiv'). The Commission was downgraded in 2004 following the resignation of Kamali and de los Reyes and the very public and political spat that followed.

Charles Westin

Longstanding commentator, author and political consultant on integration and citizenship policy. Professor at CEIFO at Stockholm University.

Appendix 2: List of UK Interviewees

David Anderson

Senior civil servant who worked as the ‘research and analysis lead’ for the Commission on Integration and Cohesion and in the production of *Our Shared Future*, the Commission’s final report. Also worked on the government’s response to this document and described his role as the ‘cross Whitehall link between Communities and Local Government and other Departments on issues around migration, integration, citizenship, identity and young people’.

David Blunkett MP

Home Secretary June 2001-December 2004. Secretary of State for Education and Employment, May 1997-June 2001.

Celine Castelino

Member of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and Head of the Welsh sub-group. Previously Head of ESOL Development (English for Speakers of Other Languages) at the Basic Skills Agency.

Elise Clarke

Senior and coordinating civil servant supporting the Commission on Integration and Cohesion. Responsible for the production of *Our Shared Future*, the Commission’s final report.

Professor Sir Bernard Crick

Chairman of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group and principal author of the 2003 report, *The New and the Old. The report of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group*. First Chairman of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) from November 2004-May 2005. Chairman of the Advisory Group on Citizenship and principal author of the 1998 report *Education for citizenship and the teaching of democracy in schools* (‘The Crick Report’).

Chris Hedges

Senior civil servant who has worked with citizenship policy since 2000. He was the principal civil servant working on the legislative changes to citizenship and nationality in the 2002 Act and in the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*. He provided civil service support for the work of the ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ Advisory Group and the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI). He also worked on the 2005 White Paper *Controlling Our Borders* and with the handbook *Life in the UK. A Journey to Citizenship*.

Lesley Irvine

Senior Scottish Government civil servant. Head of Race, Religion and Refugee team within the Equality Unit. Member of the Scottish sub-group of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI). Liaison with UK-wide Borders Agency.

Nargis Khan

Member of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (officially, 'lead on the voluntary sector and women'). Councillor in Hackney and previously involved on one of the Cantle Report's working groups.

Dina Kiwan

Member of the 'Life in the United Kingdom' Advisory Group and co-author of *New and the Old* Report. Head of Secretariat to Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) 2004-2006.

Leonie McCarthy

Member of Commission on Integration and Cohesion (officially, 'lead on refugees and new migrants'). Head of Peterborough City Council's New Link Centre, a 'one-stop-shop' to help asylum seekers, refugees and migrant workers integrate.

Professor Elizabeth Meehan

Member of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and Chair of the Northern Ireland sub-group. Professor Emerita in the School of Law at Queens' University Belfast and Adjunct Professor in the School of Politics and International Relations at University College Dublin.

Ashok Ohri

Member of the 'Life in the United Kingdom' Advisory Group and of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI). Also a member of ABNI Scotland. Co-director of Organisation and Social Development Consultants Ltd. which specialises in training and consultancy in equality, diversity, community development and inclusion.

Jean Wilson

Member of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and (at time of interview) Chair of ABNI Scotland. ESOL consultant to the Scottish Qualifications Authority. Co-Chair of the National Association for Teaching English and Community Languages to Adults (NATE CLA) and Chair of the Scottish Adult ESOL strategy group. Member of Central Scotland Racial Equality Council.

Patrick Wintour

Vice Chair (acting Chair at time of interview) of the Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) and Chair of the Business sub-group. Director of the Employability Forum, established in 2001 to promote refugee employment. Member of the Borders Agency Corporate Stakeholder Group and previously a member of the National Refugee Integration Forum.

Senior Home Office Official (Requested anonymity)

Former head of Social Policy Unit within Immigration and Nationality Directorate (now the Borders Agency). Civil service 'sponsor' of Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI). Responsible for the production of *Integration Matters – A National Strategy for Refugee Integration*.

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